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CONTENTS

Frontispiece

Udānavarga XIV (translation)	1
Early Relations between India and the West (II)	
- Etienne Lamotte	5
Master Ju-man Fu-Kuang of Loyang - tr. © Upāsaka	
Wen Shu (Richard Hunn)	25
The Technicalisation of Buddhism: Fascism and Buddhism	
in Italy (I) - Bhikkhu Nāṇajīvako	27
Ekottarāgama (IX) - tr. Thích Huyền-Vi	39
Obituaries: Bernard-Philippe Groslier, Pavel Poucha,	
Lajos Ligeti, Nolan Piiny Jacobson	47
News and Notes	52
Book Reviews	58

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色即界空
受想行識



法即界色
持中如正



Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Sino-Vietnamese characters (Nôm) by Ven. Thích Huyền-Vi reads:

*"Form is indeed emptiness,
emptiness is indeed form.
Feeling, perception, volitions and
consciousness
are also thus."*

The seals engraved by Ven. Bhikkhu Dhammavīro, Thailand, convey the same meaning as the calligraphy.

UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter XIII

SATKĀRAVARGA - Honours

1. The fruit kills the plantain, the fruit kills the bamboo, the fruit kills the reed. Honours kill the foolish, just as the mule is killed by its young [in embryo].
2. All knowledge acquired by the fool turns to his detriment; it kills whatever is good in him.
3. The wicked desire profit and praise among Bhiksus; they desire to incite covetousness in the monasteries and respect in the family of others.
4. May the man of the world and the wandering mendicant not dictate my actions; may they follow my will in all things.
5. Such is the thought of the foolish man, and it increases his desire and pride. Quite other is the search for profit, quite other progress towards Nirvāṇa.
6. Knowing this to be so, the disciple of the Buddhas should reject honours and plunge ever deeper into solitude.
7. Do not carry out your activity on all sides; do not become the servant of others; do not live at the expense of others; do not bargain with the Dharma.
8. Do not neglect your own profit. Do not be covetous of others. The Bhikṣu who is covetous of others does not attain concentration.
9. If you seek a life of happiness, filled with attention to religious duties, do not delight in beds or seats, like a snake does in rat-holes.
10. If you seek a life of happiness, filled with attention to religious duties, live in true accord with others

and conduct yourself according to the 'One Dharma'.

11. If you seek a life of happiness, filled with attention to religious duties, do not scorn the monastic robe and food.
12. A man, even if of weak intelligence but who practises morality, is praised by the wise, for his life is pure and unremitting.
13. If that Bhikṣu possesses the three knowledges, if he triumphs over death, he is free of defilements, "How little he knows" think the foolish who censure him.
14. Whereas a man in this world who possesses food and drink, even if he obeys false doctrines, becomes an object of respect for them.
15. He who is always garbed in the robes of a monk acquires many enemies, but has food, drink, clothing, a couch and a seat.
16. Knowing the misery and danger entailed by honours, the mindful Bhikṣu, who is not especially learned (but) is free of covetousness, should leave the world.
17. This body cannot live without food; food does not lead to serenity of heart; it is on food that the body subsists. Knowing this, one should seek alms-food.
18. He finds honour and glory in his family: "that is no more than dirt" he thinks. A little thorn is difficult to extract; a man of little worth abandons honours with difficulty.

Chapter XIV

*DROHAVARGA - Hostility

1. Whoever feels hostility for a man who is not angry and is free of misdeeds, will be pursued by malignity in this world and the next.
2. He begins to destroy himself, then he leads others to

- ruin; himself slain, he slays others, just as a falcon does birds.
3. Whoever strikes finds a man who strikes; the foe finds enmity; the abuser finds the abuser; and the angry find the angry.
4. Those who have not heard the Good Doctrine do not understand it; although their life is short, they always show hostility towards someone.
5. There is a difference of opinion: "Consider that man as the best." When a schism occurs in the Saṃgha, consider that man as the best.
6. Breakers of bones, takers of life, thieves of cattle, of horses, of wealth and even ravishers of kingdoms, among such there is still unity. Between yourselves how could it not be so, you who know the Dharma?
7. The wise possess tactful speech which expresses their true thought. Blunderers who let themselves be led by speech which merely consists of opening their mouths, are not wise.
8. Some people do not know that we should show ourselves to be exerting ourselves; those who do know have their dissensions calmed.
9. "He affronted me, he insulted me, he overcame me, he offended me"; their animosity is not appeased of those who cling (to that thought).
10. "He affronted me, he insulted me, he overcame me, he offended me"; of those in this world who cling (to that thought), their animosity is not appeased.
11. [Animosities in this world are never appeased by animosity.] Through patience (?) are animosities appeased, such is the eternal Doctrine.
12. Animosity is never appeased by animosity, but it is ap-

peased by the absence of animosity... [incomplete].

13. If he finds a knowledgeable companion, who is always of good conduct in this world and surmounts all obstacles, let him go with him, his mind receptive and alert.
14. If he does not find a well-experienced companion, who is always of good conduct in this world, like a king departing from his lost kingdom, let him go alone and not commit any faults.
15. And if, while going, you do not find a companion who is your equal, (continue firmly on your) way alone: a fool is not companionship.
16. To go alone is better; a fool (is not) companionship. Go alone and do not commit faults, have few desires, like an elephant in the forest.

* This *varga* is also called *bhedavarga* in the present Ms although its title is given here as *drohavarga*.

(Translated by Sara Boin-Webb from the French of N.P. Chakravarti)

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST

Étienne Lamotte

Conclusion

The maritime routes. - Under the last Lagidae, the metropolis of Alexandria, once so flourishing, was declining fast. The terrible reprisals taken on the populace by Ptolemy Euergetes II (145-116) after his return to Egypt had practically entirely exterminated the Alexandrian element in which were perpetuated, in opposition to the uneducated locals and indisciplined mercenaries, the traditions and customs of ancient Greece. The magistrature no longer functioned, laws and rules were no longer applied and, in all this anarchy, the prosperity of the town was no more than a memory. The situation improved rapidly when Egypt became a Roman province after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.): assisted by three army corps and nine cohorts, the legate and administrators sent to Egypt by Augustus reorganized the policing and re-established local magistratures. Alexandria soon recovered its activities: 'What today contributes most to its prosperity,' noted Strabo at the beginning of the Christian era, 'is that it is the only locality in Egypt which is equally well placed both for maritime trade, because of the excellent lay-out of its port, and for inland trade due to the ease with which all the goods sent down the Nile reach it, which causes it to be the greatest entrepot in the whole world. Its commercial relations with India and Troglodytica (western Africa) have developed further. Since the most precious merchandise first reaches Egypt from those two countries, there to be distributed throughout the world, Egypt exacts double dues (entry and exit dues) therefrom, the heavier the more valuable are the goods, without counting the advantages inherent in any monopoly since Alexandria is, as it were, the only entrepot for such merchandise and it alone can supply other countries'.⁵² On the west coast of the Red Sea, particularly at Myos Hormos and Berenice, other ports had been fitted up where ships sailing up or down the Persian Gulf could find a sure haven⁵³. After the expeditions organized

by Augustus against the pillaging Arabs of the Yemen and Hadhramaut (25 and 1 B.C.), the way was free and, having gone up the Nile to Syene (Assuan) in the company of the prefect Aelius, Strabo was able to ascertain that 120 vessels left Myos Hormos annually for India whereas, under the Ptolemies, few merchants had risked such a voyage⁵⁴. The Alexandrian fleets generally called at the west coast of India, not caring to venture further east; nevertheless, certain merchants, though as yet very few, having touched land in India, hugged her coastline as far as the Ganges Delta⁵⁵.

Progress in navigation made under the Empire consisted in the fact that pilots, forsaking cabotage which they had practised until then, dared to risk the open sea by trusting in the movement of the monsoon. In addition to the old route from Aden to the Indus Delta along the coasts of Arabia and Makran, three new sea-ways were rapidly reconnoitred and used in the first century of the Christian era: Aden - Barbaricon or Aden - Barygaza, Aden - the ports of Konkan, and finally, Aden - the Malabar coast.

1. The earlier cabotage seems still to have been customary at the beginning of the Empire. The fleets carefully hugged the coastline of the Indian Ocean which had already been explored from east to west by Scylax of Caryanda under the Achaemenids, as well as by Nearchus under Alexander. Setting sail from Myos Hormos, the ships went down the Persian Gulf, at Aden skirted Arabia Felix, ran along the free Coast of Incense (Hadhramaut) to its easternmost point (Acila, present-day Ras-el-Hadd), sailed up the Gulf of Oman to the tip of Cape Maketa (Ras Masandan), regained the Makran coast which they followed to the mouth of the Indus, there to drop anchor at Barbaricon (Skt. Patala, modern Bahadipur), an important trading-post on the central arm of the Delta. 'Northward and inland,' says the *Periplus*, 'there is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnigara, governed by Parthians who, pressurised by internal dissensions, pursue each other; the ships remain at anchor in Barbaricon, but all the merchandise goes up the river to the capital'⁵⁶. In fact, Indo-Scythia included the Pahlava and Śaka-Pahlava kingdoms respectively of Seistan and the Sindh which were unified in the reign of the Parthian sovereign Gondophares (c. 19-45 A.C.) but, on the death of the

king, fragmented into a series of independent satrapies which were forever in dispute: the western Punjab ruled by Abdagases, Arachosia and the Sindh reigned over successively by Orthagnes and Pacores, and the other territories governed by Sasas, Sapadena and Satavastra. This confused situation, which in no way impeded the activities of the ports or the movement of trade, continued until approximately the year 65 A.C., the probable date of the conquest of Indo-Scythia by the great Kuṣāṇa king Kujula Kadphises.

Although at the time the maritime route was mainly used by Graeco-Alexandrian navigators, the Indians in turn occasionally attempted one or two expeditions westward. Nicolaus of Damascus (c. 64 B.C. - 4 A.C.), whose evidence is recorded by Strabo and Dio Cassius⁵⁷, narrates how, while at Antioch in Syria, he met an embassy which the Indians had sent to Caesar Augustus. The deputies, whom the hazards of the journey had reduced to three in number, bore a letter in Greek from King Porus or Pandion, in which the sovereign declared that, while being lord and master of 600 kings, he nonetheless set great store by the friendship of Caesar. He offered to give him free passage through his lands to go wherever he wished, even to assist him personally in any honest and just enterprise. In addition to the letter were a young man both of whose arms were amputated but who could draw a bow with his feet, a serpent two cubits in length, a giant tortoise and a partridge larger than a vulture. This walking circus was accompanied by the gymnosophist philosopher Zarmanochegas or Zarmanus, a native of Bargosa (Bharukaccha, present-day Broach); repeating the exploit of Calanus, he burnt himself in Athens after having laughingly climbed his own pyre. On his tomb the following inscription was engraved: 'Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa, who died a voluntary death, faithful to the custom of his fathers.'

This account, which is full of anachronisms and contradictions, is probably a pastiche invented to transfer to the name of Augustus the Indian adventures of Alexander, the vanquisher of Porus, who was interested in exotic philosophies and magic. However, the legend enables us to infer the possibility, if not the frequency, of Indian expeditions to the West at the time of Augustus.

2. It was in the early years of the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A.C.), it is believed, that Hippalus, a particularly intrepid Greek pilot, - *illi robur et aes triplex*, Horace supposedly declared! - forsook in- and off-shore navigation in order to sail before the wind on the high seas, making use on his outward voyage of the south-west monsoon (May to October) and, for the return, the north-east monsoon (November to March). First skirting the coastline of southern Arabia to the tip of Cape Syagros (Ras Fartak), he then headed for the open sea in a straight line in the direction of India, landing either at Barbaricon on the Indus Delta in Indo-Scythia, or at Barygaza (Bharukaccha) at the mouth of the Narbadā. In memory of that exploit, repeated by numerous emulators, the name of Hippalus was given to the south-west monsoon, to a cape on the African coast, as well as to part of the Arabian Sea. Seemingly Hippalus is wrongly attributed with the discovery, or at least rediscovery, of the monsoon. Already by the time of Nearchus, as we saw above, the movement of the etesian winds was fully known to the Greeks and from then on never ceased regulating coastal navigation. However, Hippalus used it, not for coastal sailing, but for an excursion on the high seas. It is audacity rather than a knowledge of the winds that was Hippalus' merit. This fact is clear from a paragraph in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*: 'All the coastal navigation from Kane (on the southern Arabian coast) and Arabia Felix (Aden) was made by earlier navigators by means of cabotage in small ships. But Hippalus, a pilot, having reconnoitred the situation of the (Indian) ports and the configuration of the (Arabian) Sea, was the first to discover sailing on the open sea. It is from him that... the Libonotus (south-west wind) which blows on the Indian Ocean, seems to have received its name (of Hippalus). Since then and until now, navigators set out directly (to the open sea), some leaving from Kane, others sailing from the Coast of Incense. Those who sail towards Limyrice (Malabar coast) tack for most of the time; while those who make for Barygaza (Broach on the Gulf of Cambay) or Scythia (Sindh) hug (the Arabian coastline) for no more than three days and, finding a wind favourable to their course, reach the high seas and sail in the open to the aforesaid ports'.⁵⁸

The northern route discovered by Hippalus seems, at least at

the beginning of the Empire, to have been the most used. It led directly from Aden to Barbaricon (1,470 miles) or Barygaza (1,700 miles). Barbaricon, a great trading centre which served North-West India, was easy of access; conversely, entering Barygaza was highly dangerous: navigators coming from the open sea risked running aground on the sandy dunes of the Eirinos (Rann and the Gulf of Kutch) or breaking up on the reefs of the Barake promontory (Dvāraka, present-day Dwarka) at the eastern point of Surastrene (Saurāstra or the Kāthiāwār peninsula)⁵⁹. Those who were forced to sail that route therefore had to turn about and take to the high seas along the southern coast of Surastrene where local fishermen piloted them across the Gulf of Cambay to the port of Barygaza, at the mouth of the river Lamniaos (Narbadā in Sanskrit)⁶⁰. At the time of the *Periplus*, that is, towards the end of the first century A.C., this major port formed part of the possessions of King Manbanus who ruled over Aberia (Mālva) and Aparānta in northern Konkan. This Manbanus in the *Periplus* has been identified by A.M. Boyer with the *rājan kṣaharāta kṣātrapa Nahapāna*, The Kṣaharāta satrap king Nahapāna, that is, in Iranian, 'Protector of the People'. He struck coins of silver, nickel and copper bearing on the obverse the head of the satrap to the right, with traces of Greek characters and, on the reverse, the symbols of the thunderbolt and arrow with Indian legends in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī script⁶¹. His name appears on eight Buddhist inscriptions discovered in the caves at Kārli, Nāsik and Junnar, commemorating the generosity of his son-in-law Uśvadāta and his minister Ayama towards the Community of monks⁶². Two of them bear the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46, probably to be interpreted as the Śaka era: 119, 120, 123 and 124 A.C. Although the *Periplus* locates his capital at Minnigara in Aryake, probably Junnar, the Jaina legend makes him king of Bharukaccha and supplies details of the skirmishes of Nahavāhaṇa (= Nahapāna) with his powerful neighbour, King Sālavāhaṇa (= Śātavāhana) of Paihan⁶³. In about the year 124 in fact, Nahapāna was overthrown by a Śātavāhana king of the Deccan, Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni, who was then in the eighteenth year of his reign⁶⁴. At the time of the *Periplus*, the kingdom of Nahapāna abounded in wheat, rice, sesame oil, butter, and cotton which served to make coarse fabrics; pasturages were numerous, the inhabitants taller than average

and black-skinned⁶⁵. Barygaza (Bharukaccha) was linked with the North West by a great artery, the main halting-places of which were Ozene (Ujjayinī) in Avanti, Modura (Mathurā) in Śūrasena country, Taxila (Takṣaśilā) in the western Punjab and, finally, Proklais (Puṣkarāvati) the capital of Gandhāra. Proklais supplied extract of spikenard oil to Kaspapyrus (Multān) and in the Paropamisadae, *costus*, an aromatic Indian plant, and rubber; Ozene exported onyx stones, porcelain, linen textile and coarse fabrics in quantity⁶⁶. Barygaza also communicated via rough tracks with the interior markets of Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan), the most important of which were Paithana (Pratiṣṭhāna) and Tagara (Ter), respectively situated twenty and thirty days by foot from Barygaza. Paithana supplied onyx, and Tagara, textiles and cotton goods. All this merchandise was taken by cart to Barygaza where it accumulated on the quays. The Graeco-Alexandrian merchants exchanged it for articles from the West: metals, glassware, gold and silver work, cheap perfumes, boy-musicians, girls destined to prostitution and especially 'gold and silver *denarii*, more highly valued on the exchange market than the local coinage'⁶⁷.

3. At the time of the *Periplus*, the ports and markets in the Bombay region were the object of protectionist measures and, consequently, avoided by foreign traders. It appears from the Indian sources that the port of Śūrpāraka and the market of Kalyāṇa played a major part in maritime traffic and local trade, but the *Periplus* advises against them: 'Beyond Barygaza are situated local emporia of little importance, in this order: Suppara (Śūrpāraka, modern Sopara) and Calliena (Kalyāṇa, present-day Calliani); the latter town, at the time of Saragenes the Elder, was a regular market but, when Sandanes captured it, its activity was heavily curtailed and the Greek ships which venture to those places (are seized) and taken under escort to Barygaza'⁶⁸. It was therefore not without reason that, half a century later, Ptolemy the geographer designated the towns of Konkan by the name of Towns of the *Andres Peiratai*⁶⁹, that is, of the piratical Andhras, from the name of the Andhra or Śātavāhana sovereigns who then ruled over the region. However, one of the versions of the legend of Saint Thomas claims that the apostle first reached India in the neighbourhood of Jaygarh in southern Konkan;

a papyrus by Oxyrhynchus⁷⁰ records a meeting in the same place between the local inhabitants and Greek navigators; finally and in particular, the inscriptions rediscovered in the caves at Nāsik, Junnar and Kārli mention among the generous benefactors of the Buddhist Community several Yavanas who, at least in part, were Greeks (Iones)⁷¹.

4. However, the extreme south of the peninsula supplied traders with even more coveted goods: pearls from the Gulf of Manaar, beryl from the mines of Coimbatore and pepper from the Malabar coast. The Romans were informed of all these riches by four Sinhalese ambassadors who went to Rome during the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.C.). An affranchised slave of Annius Plocamus, a 'tax-farmer' of the imperial treasury at the Red Sea, was carried away by the winds when he was turning the Cape of Aden and, after sailing for fifteen days, was cast onto the coast of Taprobane (Sri Lanka) near Hippuri. Made welcome by the king of the country, at that time Bhātikābhaya⁷², the freedman learned Sinhalese and was able to answer the questions put to him by the locals on Italy and the Romans. The king of Taprobane, wishing to establish friendly relations with Emperor Claudius, sent an embassy to Rome under the leadership of a certain Rachias, doubtless an anonymous rājan. Once they had reached their destination, the envoys provided the Romans in general and Pliny in particular with all kinds of information concerning the island of Ceylon and Sinhalese trade with the Seres (Chinese) beyond the Himalaya mountains⁷³.

Doubtless attracted by the lure of fabulous gains, an unknown navigator, even more audacious than Hippalus, attempted to reach the Malabar coast by setting sail from Aden and following an arc bent northwards, some 2,000 miles in length. This exploit which, it is believed, took place around the year 50 of the Christian era, opened up a fourth sea-route towards India. The *Periplus* alludes to it when it speaks of hardy intrepid navigators who, setting out from Kane or the Coast of Incense, 'steer towards limyrice (Malabar coast) by tacking for most of the time'⁷⁴, and Pliny states that in order to use that route, the most advantageous departure point is Ocelis (Cella near Aden) and that from there one sails with the Hippalus wind for forty days as far as Muziris, present-day Cranganore, the foremost market of India⁷⁵.

According to the evidence of Pliny the Elder, the *Periplus* and Claudius Ptolemy, the ports of southern India were the scene of intensive trade during the second half of the first century and the whole of the second century of the Christian era. Here we shall mention only those whose Tamil name is easily recognisable through their Greek and Latin transcription.

In the Cera region, on the Malabar coast:

Tondi: *Τόνδις Κηροβότρων* of the *Periplus* (Nos 53, 54) and of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8).

Muciri: the Muziris of Pliny (VI, 104), *Μουζίρις* of the *Periplus* (Nos 53, 54) and of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8), 'a port packed with Greek ships from Ariake' where long pepper (pippali, Greek *πικέρι*) was purchased with gold. The *Peutinger Tables* (Ch. XII), published in about the year 226 A.C., mention a temple of Augustus there.

Karuvur: *Καροῦρα*, the royal town of *Κηροβότρων* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 86).

In the kingdom of the Pāndyas, on the west and east coasts of Cape Comorin:

Nelcynda and Bacare noted by Pliny (VI, 105), the *Periplus* (Nos 55, 58) and Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8 and 9), the Tamil name of which as well as the exact location are unknown, perhaps Kotayam and Pokarad.

Kumari: *Κομάρι*, *Korapet* of the *Periplus* (Nos 58, 59), *Κομυρία* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 9), Cape Comorin.

Korkei: pearl fisheries of the *Κόλχοι* (*Periplus*, No. 59; Ptolemy, VII, 1, 10), the town of King *Πανδίων*.

In the Cola kingdom, on the Coromandel coast (Colamāṇḍala):

Kāviripattinam: the Cabirus of Pliny (VI, 94), *Καυίρα* of the *Periplus* No. 60), *Χαβηρίς* of Ptolemy (VII, 94), the great emporium of the *Σωγίηγοι* (Colas) at the mouth of the Kāveri.

URandei: *Ορθοῦρα* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 91), capital of the *Σωγίης* (Cola sovereign), today buried beneath the sands.

Pushing their reconnaissances further east, a small number of Greeks, doubtless making use of local embarkation points, risked venturing into the Gulf of Bengal. Among the Indian markets and ports on the east coast where the navigators from Limyric and the north put in, the *Periplus* records in this order: Camara (Kāviripattinam), Poduce (Pondicherry?) and Sōpatma (Mad-

ras?)⁷⁶. Small coasters there served the ports of Limyric, *sangarās* assembled by joining up large 'piraguas' [barques made from a single piece of timber], and *kolandias* (from the Skt. *kola*, 'raft'), vessels of the high seas, sailing from the Ganges Delta or the Chrysē Chersonesos, the ancient El Dorado corresponding to the Suvarṇabhūmi of the Indians and which may vaguely be located in Malaysia or part of Burma. It was, according to the *Periplus*, these local ships which the Greeks used to reconnoitre the island of Taprobane or Ceylon, Maisolia (Masulipatam) or Andhra country between the mouth of the Kistna and the Godāvārī, Dosarene (Daśārṇa) or the region of Tosālī in Orissa, and doubtless also Burma and Malaysia⁷⁷.

Penetration inland. - In the first century of the Christian era foreign navigators, retained by their commercial activities at the ports, hardly ventured into the interior of the Indian lands. We know, however, from the *Periplus*, that they were acquainted with some half-dozen Indian kingdoms on the central mainland and the Deccan: 1. The Ariake of Manbanus or Nahapāna, which was referred to above (*Periplus*, No. 41); 2. The Dakṣiṇābades (Dakṣiṇāpatha) under Saraganus or rather the Śātakarṇis or Śātavāhanas of the Deccan (Nos 50, 52); 3. Limyric or Dimyric (Tamilakam, Dravida) including the whole of the coast of Malabar (Nos 31, 32, 47) and containing the kingdoms of Cerebothros or Keralaputra (No. 54), Pandion or Pāndya (Nos 54, 59), Argalos or Urāgapura (No. 59); 4. Maisolia or the modern district of Masulipatam (No. 62); 5. Dosarene (Daśārṇa) or the region of Tosālī (No. 62).

Fifty years later, under the Antonine dynasty (96-192 A.C.), foreign traders, gaining in assurance, ventured further inland, and the Indian kingdoms listed in Book VII, chapter I of the *Geographia* by Ptolemy are more than a dozen in number: 1. 'Ozene (Ujjayinī), the royal town of Tiastenes' (VII, 1, 63), the Mahākṣatrapa rājan Caṣṭana who ruled about the year 130 A.C., and who left coins and Sanskrit inscriptions on which he bears the sonorous titles of Lord (*svāmin*), Well-Named (*suḡhītanāman*) and August Visage (*bhadramukha*)⁷⁸. - 2. 'Kingdom of Baithana (Pratiṣṭhāna) ruled by Sirī Ptolemaius' (VII, 1, 82), more precisely Vāsīṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyī, whose reign lasted for at

least twenty-four years (c.131-155 A.C.), and who left numerous inscriptions at Kānheri, Nāsik, Kārli, Dharanikōt and Amarāvati⁷⁹. - 3. 'Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur) governed by Beleokouros' (VII, 1, 6 and 82), Vilivāyakura, a royal title appearing on certain coins of Gautamīputra and Vāsiṣṭhīputra⁸⁰. - 4. Kingdom of Musopallis in Canarene country (VII, 1, 84). - 5. Kingdom of Karoura (Karuvur) governed by Cerebothros or Keralaputra (VII, 1, 86). - 6. Pounnata in southern Mysore (VII, 1, 86). - 7. Kingdom of the Aloi, capital Kottiarā, to the south of Travancore (VII, 1, 9 and 87). - 8. Kingdom of the Kareoi in the valley of Tāmrāparṇī (VII, 1, 10 and 88). - 9. Kingdom of Modura (Madura) governed by the Pandions or Pāṇḍyas (VII, 1, 89). - 10. Kingdom of the Batoi, capital Nikama (VII, 1, 12, 74 and 90). - 11. Kingdom of Orthura (URandei) ruled by a Sōrnas or Coḷa (VII, 1, 91). - 12. Kingdom of Sōra (Coḷa), governed by Arkatos (VII, 1, 68). - 13. Kingdom of Malanga (Mavilangai? Kāñchī?) ruled by Barsaronax (VII, 1, 92). - 14. Kingdom of Pitura or Pithuda (VII, 1, 93).

Indian evidence. - The Greek and Latin naturalists and geographers were not alone in emphasising the importance of the trade initiated at the beginning of the Christian era between West and East; the fact is also stressed by the Tamil Sangam writers⁸¹, discoveries of Roman coins in the Deccan area and the cosmopolitan nature of harbour establishments on the Indian coast.

The Tamil Sangam literature, which describes events that occurred during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, celebrates the abounding prosperity of Mucirī 'where fine vessels, masterpieces of Yavana workmanship, arrive with gold and depart with pepper'⁸². It is the town 'where fish is sold, where rice is amassed, where sacks of pepper accumulate, where liquor abounds, and which presents all comers with a confusion of goods from the mountains and goods from the sea'⁸³. At Kōrkei, a town of the Pāṇḍya king, 'fine pearls, precious marvels greatly esteemed throughout the world, grow and mature in brilliant shells'⁸⁴; there is savoured 'teṛal (wine) of sweet perfume, brought by the fine Yavana vessels'⁸⁵.

The rapid increase of wealth in Rome at the beginning of the Empire created an unprecedented demand for Eastern merchandise:

spices, pearls, ivory, wood and silk. The measures taken by Tiberius to check this spread of luxury which carried Roman money to foreign and hostile peoples failed lamentably⁸⁶. India, China and Arabia relieved the Empire of an hundred millions sesterces a year⁸⁷; Indian alone drained half this sum against local merchandise sold in Italy and an hundred times its value⁸⁸. Imperial currency abounded in the ports of Malabar, Muziris, Nelcynde and Bacare⁸⁹. Of the eighty-odd treasure-troves of Roman coins found on Indian and Sinhalese soil, the richest were discovered in the Deccan: thirty-six in the State of Madras, four in Mysore, and twenty-two in Ceylon, the majority of them being *denarii* of Augustus (14 A.C.), Tiberius (37 A.C.) and Claudius (54 A.C.).

The bleeding of the currency continued until the end of the fourth century: at Sīgiriya, in Sri Lanka, 1,675 coins have been collected, the last of which dates from the reign of Emperor Honorius (395-423).

Recent excavations undertaken in the region of Pondicherry at Vīrapatnam⁹¹, also known to archaeologists as Kakayentope or Arikamedu, and which possibly corresponds to the ancient Poduce of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, have, in the northern sector of the site, brought to light the ruins of a huge warehouse, 150 feet in length, and in the southern sector, traces of a muslim manufactory enclosed by walls and containing bottomless wells, with a vast network of canals for the draining of water. Indications of an archaeological nature serve to situate the warehouse in about 50 B.C. and the manufactory in approximately 50 A.C. This latter date appears to be confirmed by the few Brāhmī inscriptions in middle Indian or Tamil discovered on site: one of them bears the figure 275, in which J. Filliozat sees a date referring to the introduction of Aśoka culture in the Tamil region in approximately 251 B.C. The inscriptions would therefore date from the year 24 A.C. The most important finds consist of minor objects made of terracotta, metal, stone and glass. Alongside local Indian artefacts are others of foreign origin: a Roman terracotta lamp, some wooden bowls, a cornaline ring setting engraved with the effigy of Augustus, a quartz intaglio representing Cupid, and especially Italic pottery bearing the seal of the workshops of Arretium (Arezzo in Tuscany): *vibii*, *camuri*, *itta*, etc. In the opinion of R.F. Faucheux and (Sir)

Mortimer Wheeler, Virapatnam was a Roman factory, a branch of the great Italic workshops which the slump of Arretine pottery in Western markets from the year 50 A.C. made them decide to expatriate. The existence of a Roman emporium in the Gulf of Bengal at the beginning of the Christian era implies that, according to M. Wheeler, the south-west monsoon was known and utilised by Western navigators at a period much earlier than had generally been presumed. However, we have already expressed the opinion that the movement of the etesian winds was known to the companies of Alexander, in particular to Nearchus, and that the new sea-routes opened up by Hippalus in the reign of Tiberius consisted simply in making use of the monsoon for voyages on the high seas. Furthermore, the hypothesis which suggests that Virapatnam was a Roman factory is not tenable: according to the judicious remark made by J. Filliozat, the Indians were sufficiently skilled and active to create by themselves an industry imitating the luxury articles imported from the Mediterranean world. The presence in Virapatnam of millstones, polishers and rough or semi-carved stones proves that the lapidarist craft was practised on the spot; while continuing to manufacture Indian objects, the local craftsmen could well have reproduced articles of foreign origin. The problem posed by Virapatnam is connected with that of the workshops of Central Asia: at Rawak, Yotkan and in the Niya Valley have been found, alongside intaglios of Indo-Scythian or Partho-Sassanid inspiration, other intaglios derived directly from the classical tradition representing Zeus, Athene, Eros and Herakles. It may be wondered whether these seals were imported directly from the workshops of Bactria and Roman Syria or whether they were not rather made on the spot by local artists and itinerant lapidarists. As for the Arretine pottery discovered at Virapatnam, it could have come from old stock sold off at the Indian markets after the closure of the Western bazaars in which, after the year 50 A.C., this merchandise found no takers.

Indian navigation. - While not displaying anything like the same amount of activity as the Graeco-Alexandrian navigators, Indian sailors occupied an honorable place on the sea-routes, whether as simple coastal traffic, as attested to from the highest antiquity, or as expeditions out to sea. Unfortunately, accounts

of voyages consigned to Indian texts are so surrounded by legend and lacking in chronological indications that there is little upon which to depend.

The Sinhalese chronicles of the Dīpa- and Mahāvamsa demonstrate how easy and frequent relations between the Indian sub-continent and the island of Ceylon were. In the sixth century B.C., in the remote times of the Buddha, a group of Siṃhalas, natives of Lāla or Lāta (Gulf of Cambay) embarked at the port of Śūrpāraka; after a long expedition, they set foot in Ceylon and gave the island their name, 'Island of the Siṃhala' (Siṃhaladvīpa), and their dialect, Sinhalese, closely linked to the language of Kāthiāwār⁹². After the ninth year of his rule (252 B.C.), Aśoka sent his messengers of the Dharma to Tāmraparṇī, thus establishing relations with the kings of Ceylon which were never to be broken⁹³. Ten years later (242 B.C.), Devānampiyatissa despatched to Pāṭaliputra an embassy which returned to him laden with gifts and bearing a pressing invitation to embrace the Doctrine of the Buddha⁹⁴. That same year the Buddhist monk Mahinda, Aśoka's son, and his companions landed in Ceylon and began their teaching tours which were rapidly to culminate in the conversion of the island⁹⁵. The novice Sumana soon returned to Pāṭaliputra where he acquired relics of the Buddha⁹⁶; he was followed almost immediately by Ariṭṭha, the king of Ceylon's nephew, who was sent to Aśoka to obtain the assignment of Buddhist nuns⁹⁷. These last, with Saṃghamittā, Aśoka's own daughter, at their head immediately embarked at Tāmraliptī and, after a day's crossing, landed at Jambukola, carrying a Bodhi tree with them⁹⁸. These religious conquests were to be succeeded by other less peaceful ones: during the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, Ceylon was invaded as many as three times by Tamil conquerors from the mainland who succeeded in remaining on the island for several decades: Sena and Guttika from 172 to 150⁹⁹; the Cola prince Elāra from 140 to 96¹⁰⁰; his nephew Bhalluka, who disembarked with an expeditionary force of 60,000 men but was promptly repulsed back to sea by Duṭṭhāgamani¹⁰¹; the five Damilas, Puḷahatta, etc., who ruled in Anurādhapura from 39 to 24¹⁰².

In the Vinayas, Jātakas and Avadānas we find several accounts of voyages on the high seas, but the present state of the documen-

tation does not enable us to date them precisely. This literature is both fantasist and stereotyped. The heroes, whom they call Mahātyāgavat, Kalyāṇakārin and Pāpakārin, Maitrakanyaka or Maitrayajña¹⁰³, performed exploits or underwent adventures, the setting of which was fixed in advance. A group of merchants, invariably numbering five hundred, plan an expedition and choose a young man of great virtue as their captain. His parents or betrothed attempt in vain to put him off the voyage. The merchants assemble at a port and ensure the services of an old half-blind pilot: he has already sailed the open sea six times and this new venture will be his last, 'since a man has never been seen who, having returned from the high seas safe and sound with his boat six times, has returned a seventh.' The ship anchored in port is attached by seven mooring-ropes and, once the departure has been decided, one of them is cut each day; on the seventh day a propelling wind rises which drives the ship out to sea. The great ocean is divided into three superimposed zones, sheltering sharks, shark-eaters and finally cetaceans of monstrous proportions. The *makara*, which dwells in the deepest waters but which sometimes emerges on the surface, has a head as high as the sky, from a distance its eyes resemble two suns in the firmament, and its teeth, steep cliffs. When it opens its jaws, fish, tortoises, dolphins and sea-horses are engulfed as a whole, and a ship that sails too close runs the great danger of being swallowed by it. If it avoids that danger, it then encounters a tempest which generally breaks out seven days after departure, when the ship has already sailed seven hundred leagues. The five hundred merchants perish in the shipwreck and the captain alone escapes the catastrophe. However, his adventures continue and it takes him seven weeks to reach the end of his journey; for seven days he swims in deep water until he reaches shore; for three weeks he continues his way submerged up to the neck, up to the hips and then up to the knees; for a further three weeks he successfully crosses a mud-bank, a lotus park, then a lair of poisonous snakes. He finally arrives at a marvellous town, made of seven jewels and defended by seven trenches. There he finds coveted treasure, precious gems or the philosopher's stone. On the way back, his treasure is usually stolen from him by Nāgas and, in order to recover it, he undertakes to empty

as did Dhārukarnin who, on the open sea, was subjected to a hurricane unleashed against him by the yakṣa Maheśvara and he owed his escape only to the intervention of his brother Pūrṇa; that holy man flew through the air to the distressed ship and, seated cross-legged above the vessel, soon calmed the fury of the waves¹¹⁰. However, according to the evidence of the Mahākarmavibhaṅga, it was especially for Ceylon, the islands of the Archipelago and Suvarṇabhūmi that the sailors of the Great Ocean made¹¹¹. Suvarṇabhūmi, the Chrysē Chersonesos of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, which is vaguely situated in Burma or Malaysia, by turn attracted merchants from Vārāṇasī such as Saṅkha, from Campā such as Mahājanaka and even a musician from Śūrpāraka, such as Sagga¹¹². The Sinhalese chronicles claim that Suvarṇabhūmi was converted to Buddhism shortly after the Council of Pāṭaliputra (c.242 B.C.), by the missionaries Soṇa and Uttara¹¹³; but other sources have no hesitation in dating that conversion as far back as the time of the Buddha himself, who supposedly entrusted the holy Gavāmpati with teaching the Dharma to the population of Suvarṇabhūmi over an area of an hundred leagues. The legend recorded in the Karmavibhaṅga is still widespread in Burma today¹¹⁴. In fact, however, the Indianisation of Burma dates from no earlier than the fifth century A.C.¹¹⁵, and it is most unlikely that Buddhist propaganda could have reached the region before then¹¹⁶.

The foregoing brief account, in which the history of the relations between India and China should also have found its place¹¹⁷, is enough to demonstrate that, in the first years of the Christian era, India came out of her millenary isolation and entered the world complex. New routes were thus opened up to religious propaganda, particularly to the Doctrine of the Buddha which was able to make use of the possibilities offered to it, but only in part. For reasons which we shall explain elsewhere, it disdained the Western world, which was indifferent or hostile to the Good Word, and turned all its solicitude to China and the Far East, ready to receive the teachings of the Buddha.

(Concluded)

Translated by Sara Boin-Webb with thanks to the Buddhist Society of London

NOTES

- 52 Strabo, XVII, 1, 13 (tr. after Tardieu).
- 53 Strabo, XVII, 1, 45.
- 54 Strabo, II, 5, 12.
- 55 Strabo, XV, 1, 4.
- 56 *Periplus*, 38-39.
- 57 Strabo, XV, 1, 73; cf. XV, 1, 4; Dio Cassius, LIV, 9.
- 58 *Periplus*, 57: Τοῦτον δὲ ὄλον τὸν εἰρημένον περίπλου ἀπὸ Κανῆς καὶ τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας οἱ μὲν <πρότεροι> μικρότεροις πλοίοις περικολπιζόντες ἔπλειον, πρῶτος δὲ Ἰππαλος κυβερνήτης, κατανοήσας τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἐμπορίων καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν διὰ πελάγους ἐξεῦρε πλοῦν· ἀπ' οὗ καὶ τοπικῶς ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ φουσώντων, [τῶν] κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐτρίων ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ πελάγει λιβόντος φαίνεται <Ἰππαλος> προσονομάζεσθαι [ἀπὸ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ πρώτως ἐξευρηκτός τὸν φιάπλου]. Ἀπ' οὗ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τινὲς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Κανῆ, τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρωμάτων ἀφίεντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιμυρικὴν πλέοντες ἐπὶ πλείον τραχηλίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς Βαγύραζαν οἱ τε εἰς Σκυθίαν οὐ πλείον ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέχουσι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν † παρεπιφέροντες πρὸς Ἰδιὸν δρόμον ὑψηλοὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας διὰ τοῦ ἔξωθεν [γῆς] παραπλέοντες τοὺς προειρημένους κόλπους.
- 59 *Periplus*, 40.
- 60 *Periplus*, 44.
- 61 E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§78-79 and pl.III, 1.
- 62 H. Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions' (*Epigraphia Indica*, X, Appendix), Nos 1099, 1131-1136, 1174.
- 63 Cf. the Cūrṇī by Jinadāsagaṇi, a commentary upon a gāthā by Bhadrabahu, passage edited and translated by S. Lévi, 'Kaniska et Śātavāhana', *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Mar. 1936, pp.67-70.
- 64 See the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulamayi at Nāsik (Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos 1125 and 1123).
- 65 *Periplus*, 41.
- 66 *Periplus*, 48.
- 67 *Periplus*, 49 and 51.

- 68 *Periplus*, 52.
- 69 Ptolemy, VII, 1, 84.
- 70 *Oxyrhynchus Pap.*, III, 413, pp.41-57.
- 71 Lüders, Nos 1140, 1154, 1156, 1182, 1094; cf. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1951 [repr. New Delhi 1980], pp.254-8, 371-3.
- 72 *Dīpavamsa*, 21, 30; *Mahāvamsa*, 34, 69.
- 73 Pliny, VI, 84-88.
- 74 *Periplus*, 53.
- 75 Pliny, VI, 104.
- 76 *Periplus*, 60.
- 77 *Periplus*, 60-62.
- 78 E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §81; Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos 963, 964a, 965-7.
- 79 Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos 994, 1100, 1122-24; 1248, 1106; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, 1936, p.259.
- 80 E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §86.
- 81 See P. Meile, 'Les Yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule', *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1940-41, pp.85-123.
- 82 *Id.*, *ibid.*, p.90.
- 83 *Id.*, *ibid.*, p.93.
- 84 *Id.*, *ibid.*, p.97.
- 85 *Id.*, *ibid.*, p.103.
- 86 Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 33; III, 53; Dio Cassius, LVII, 15.
- 87 Pliny, XII, 84.
- 88 Pliny, VI, 101.

- 89 *Periplus*, 49, 56.
- 90 R.E.M. Wheeler, 'Roman Coins, first century B.C. to fourth century A.D., found in India and Ceylon', *Ancient India*, No.2, Delhi 1946, Appendix 1, pp. 116-21.
- 91 On the excavations at Vīrapatnam, see R.F. Facheux, *Une vieille cité indienne près de Pondichéry*, Vīrapatnam, Pondicherry 1945; R.E.M. Wheeler, 'Arikamedu: an Indo Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India', *Ancient India*, No.2, Delhi 1946, pp.17-124; J. Filliozat, 'Les Inscriptions de Vīrapatnam', *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions*, Jan. 1947, pp.110-18; 'Les échanges de l'Inde', *Revue historique*, Jan.-Mar. 1949, pp.16-23.
- 92 *Dīpavamsa*, IX, 1-37; *Mahāvamsa*, VI.
- 93 Thirteenth Rock Edict: J. Bloch, p.130.
- 94 *Dīpavamsa*, XII, 25-40; *Mahāvamsa*, XI, 16-41.
- 95 *Dīpavamsa*, XII, 35-39; *Mahāvamsa*, XIII, 18-21.
- 96 *Dīpavamsa*, XV, 6-28; *Mahāvamsa*, XVII, 9-21.
- 97 *Dīpavamsa*, XV, 81-95; *Mahāvamsa*, XVIII, 1-8.
- 98 *Dīpavamsa*, XVI, 3-7; *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 17-23.
- 99 *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 47; *Mahāvamsa*, XXI, 10.
- 100 *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 49; *Mahāvamsa*, XXI, 13; XXVII, 6.
- 101 *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 77 ff.
- 102 *Dīpavamsa*, XX, 15-17; *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIII, 56-61.
- 103 On the adventures of Mahātyāgavat, Kalyāṇakārin and Pāpakārin, see the references in the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, II, Louvain 1949, pp.755-7, notes; on those of Maitrakanyaka, see S. Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, Paris 1932, p.51.
- 104 A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa at Bhārhut*, London 1879 [repr. Varanasi 1962], pl.XXXIV, 2; S. Barua and K. Simha, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta 1926, p.61.
- 105 *Dīvyāvadāna*, pp.231-3; *Mahāvastu*, I, pp.244-6; *Avadānakalpalatā*, II,

pp.777-8; *Apadāna*, II, p.430, *Traité*, I, pp.410-14.

106 *Periplus*, 52.

107 *Mahāniddeśa*, I, p.154; *Milindapañha*, p.359; *Bṛhatkathā* of Buddhavāmin, XVIII, vv.428 ff.

108 S. Lévi, 'Ptolomée, Le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā', *Études Asiatiques*, Paris 1925, II, pp.1-55.

109 *Bāverujātaka*, No.339, III, p.126; on 'land-sighting crows', see also *Dīgha*, I, p.222.

110 On the adventures of Dhārukarṇin, also called Stavakarṇika, cf. *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, T 1448, ch.3, p.13a; *Dīvyāvadāna*, pp.41-2; *Avadānaśataka*, II, p.166; *Buddhacarita*, XXI, v.22, in E. Johnston, 'The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey', *Acta Orientalia*, XV, 1937, p.55 [included in *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi 1984].

111 S. Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, pp.51, 53.

112 *Samkajātaka*, No.442 (IV, p.15); *Mahājanakaajātaka*, No.539 (VI, p.30); *Sussondijātaka*, No.360 (III, p.187).

113 *Dīpavamsa*, VIII, 12; *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 6 and 44; *Samantapasādikā*, I, p.64.

114 *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, p.62; P. Bigandet, *Vie ou Légende de Gaudama, le Bouddha des Birmans*, Paris 1878 p.371 [English ed., Rangoon 1858, repr. Varanasi 1979].

115 Cf. G. Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris 1948, p.37 [English ed. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 1968].

116 The small amount of information assembled here on Indian navigation should not allow us to forget that, at least for mainland India, prejudice against the sea persisted for a long time. On this subject, see the authoritative remarks by L. Renou, *La civilisation de l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1950, pp.202-3.

117 On this subject, see J.V. Mills, 'Notes of Early Chinese Voyages', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1951, Parts 1 and 2, pp.3-25, where a good bibliography can be found.

MASTER JU-MAN FU-KUANG OF LOYANG

A Short Record from the *Ching-tê Ch'uan-têng Lu*

During a courtesy visit to the Master's monastery, the Emperor Shun-tsung asked Ju-man, 'Where did the Buddha come from, and where did he go at his passing? As it is said that he is eternally abiding in this world, then where is the Buddha now?'

The Master replied, 'The Buddha came from his transcendental state, and returned to that transcendental state at his passing. The Dharma-body is absolutely empty, eternally existent, without room for thought. Existing thoughts should be returned to no-thought; existing things thought of as having an abiding place should be returned to (the Mind of) 'non-abiding'. Sentient beings come into existence and cease to be, but the immaculate Bhūtatathatā-ocean's tranquil substance abides forever. On this the wise ones skilfully meditate, without giving rise to further doubtful fears.'

The Emperor further asked, 'The Buddha was born in a royal palace, and entered Nirvāṇa between two sāla trees (at Kuśinagara). He dwelt in the world for forty-nine years after his enlightenment in order to teach, yet he also said that he had no fixed Dharma. The mountains, rivers and great oceans, the universe, the sun and moon - all must eventually pass away, so why is it said that there is 'no birth and death'? As I still have doubts about this, would the wise Master kindly explain further?'

The Master replied, 'The Buddha's body is fundamentally 'non-acting'. Any such distinctions (such as you have made) are erroneous. The Dharma-body is like empty space and has never been subject to 'birth and death'. When there is an appropriate cause for it, a Buddha appears in the world; when there is no further cause to stay, the Buddha enters Nirvāṇa. The Buddha's teaching influences sentient beings everywhere, but it is like the reflection of the moon in water (and not the real moon). There is neither 'permanence' nor 'impermanence', neither 'birth' nor 'death'. Living beings are never really 'born'; those that we regard as having 'died' never really pass away. Understand clear-

ly that there is no mind to abide in, and it naturally follows that there is no (fixed) Dharma to expound (about it).'

Having heard this, the Emperor was most delighted and his respect for the Ch'an school was greatly increased.

Translated and edited from *Ching-tê Chuan-têng Lu* or 'Records of the Transmission of the Lamp', by Upāsaka Wen Shu (Richard Hunn) © 1983.

THE TECHNICALISATION OF BUDDHISM:

FASCISM AND BUDDHISM IN ITALY

GIUSEPPE TUCCI - JULIUS EVOLA

Bhikkhu Ñāṇajīvako

I

At the beginning of the twentieth century Buddhist studies in Italy were already well established, also on the academic level, and primarily against the background of the Pāli suttas. The first significant translations that appeared (from 1912) were *Testi di morale buddhistica*, the Dhammapada and Sutta-nipāta, translated by P.E. Pavolini, followed by a few selected texts from the Dīgha-nikāya (Mahānidāna- Mahāparibbāna, Mahāsatipatṭhāna-suttas), translated by C. Puini. From 1916 G. de Lorenzo became the best known translator with his Majjhima-nikāya in three volumes. He collaborated with K.E. Neumann, one of the first and best translators of Pāli texts into German since the late nineteenth century. De Lorenzo's translations were not simple retranslations of Neumann, because his sense of aesthetic beauty and literary value of the original Pāli excel in some points even the refinements of Neumann's style. These were already brought to artistic perfection in De Lorenzo's presentation of selected texts in his *India e Buddismo antico*, which preceded the translations of the Nikāyas to their full extent. This initial selection (whose fifth edition appeared in 1926) denotes an obvious aesthetic guiding principle in its composition as a whole. It is my impression that no other book of international Buddhist literature (not to speak of the standard English translations which have remained notoriously the ugliest since H.C. Warren and C.A.F. Rhys Davids) could have won the enthusiasm of an artist such as was J. Evola (1898-1974), a prominent painter of the Dadaist movement at the beginning of his career (about 1920), one of whose earliest writings was on the *Arte Astratta*.

II

At the time of political and social transition to the Fascist era, Evola decided to abandon his artistic career and (about 1923) turned completely to the study of philosophy. In his autobiography, *Il cammino di Cinabro* (1963), he declares the signifi-

cance of that decision in the statement: 'I do not at all deny my past experiences, and am far from considering them as "sins of youth".' According to a witness of these times¹, 'Evola as a painter has commenced, passed through and concluded an accomplished circle; he has delivered a discourse in full whereupon he had not to add a single word.' This was an extreme negation: he denied himself; 'a negation that reached its acme in the moment when he gave up painting.' According to another author, 'a reflex of the situation of crisis in connection with the spirit of *Sturm und Drang*, characterising in the intellectual surroundings the period of the first war and the subsequent postwar situation.'

Italian philosophy of the early twentieth century was dominated by two outstanding and independent neo-Hegelian thinkers: Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) and Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944).^{*} At the beginning of his philosophical career Evola first came under the influence of both.

The development of this Italian version of idealist absolutism in the philosophy of the 'Hegelian Left' was characterised by a forceful enhancement of dialectical engagement stimulating a revolutionary revaluation of the classical culture of the Roman Empire, of a pre-Christian and anti-Christian 'aristocratic' tradition. Fascist tendencies, in their first impetus, could only exacerbate the clash against this 'decadent slaves' religion'. Evola's reflections on the importance of Nietzsche's criticism of Christianity, from an openly Buddhist standpoint - as we shall see it in the sequel - will emphasise further how far also the overcoming of Nietzsche's passive assessment of the 'European form of Buddhism' as an emerging danger of 'European Nihilism' will remain a fundamental dialectical postulate of Evola's standpoint of Fascist absolutism.

Initially, a specific characteristic of Italian neo-Hegelianism came from a more constructive positive heritage of its 'modern' culture, from the revitalised universalist foundations of the Italian Renaissance. This humanistic trend was enhanced primarily by Croce in his philosophy of culture whose modernised paradigmatic models he found in G.B. Vico and De Sanctis. The aesthetic intuition as the first grade of mental activity and its immediate

creative expression, reveals such intrinsic value which remains inalienable in the history of classical cultures. Like Karl Jaspers in his later critique of Hegel's dialectical law of apocalyptic holocaust of antitheses of history, Croce in his 'Philosophy of the Spirit' insists that the history of the spiritual life does not signify merely the succession of spiritual activities and that progress takes place by greater and greater inclusion in the subsequent, 'being virtually what it is by virtue of producing it.' Thus, 'every present fact of spiritual life contains its entire past'² - or, as we would say, is an authentic fruit of its karma. Insights in this essential meaning of the difference between Croce and Hegel have brought some foreign critics to designate Croce without hesitation as an anti-Hegelian.

In the pre-Fascist period Croce was senator of the Liberal Party in the Italian parliament. During the Fascist era he lived independently on his family estate in Apulia, still able to publish some of his books, mainly on the central topic of his philosophy, aesthetics.^{**} After the Second World War he returned to parliament as a representative of the same Liberal Party which in the meantime had become inevitably conservative.

Giovanni Gentile, born ten years later and assassinated a decade earlier, in his main work on the 'Theory of mind as pure act', took a stance dialectically opposed to both mysticism and to Hegelian intellectualism. With Christianity he had the same task to find a forcible, somehow reluctant, compromise as had Mussolini himself and, later, Evola who consequently remained more persistent in his traditionally aristocratic opposition, even in his post-war neo-Fascist radicalism 'against the stream' of the reality of a lost war.

A few years after the War I read in a Roman newspaper of the publication of a book by Mussolini (unknown until then but written during the aggressive stage of Fascist ideology) on Jan Hus, one of the earliest pre-Lutheran Protestant rebels against the Roman Catholic Church. Obviously its publication must have been prevented by the more cautious Fascist 'hierarchs' in order to avoid further acerbation in the conflict with the Catholic Church at a time when the solution by a concordat was realised to be the only realistic, albeit reluctant, way out of this most danger-

ous early conflict with the new totalitarian régime. However, Catholic rancour against Protestantism was still strong enough to re-emerge in Rome not long after the end of the War in organised attacks of mobs on Protestant churches with attempts to damage or demolish them. Such attempts were meant also as 'popular' protests against the non-Catholic religions of the new invaders of Rome - the Anglo-American occupation forces. (As for Mussolini's book on Jan Hus, I could not find it in bookshops at that time, before I left Italy.)

Gentile designates his rejection of (Catholic) mysticism and (Hegelian) intellectualism as a 'profoundly Christian' standpoint 'meaning the intrinsically moral conception of the world', a belief in the perfection of human personality, in other words, the power of the human Self. In Gentile's words: 'It is man himself who rises above humanity and becomes God.' In the same context he makes haste to emphasise that 'This moral conception is one which is alien to India', since Indian morality 'ends in asceticism...'.³ And yet Gentile's reduction of Christian morality to an anti-mystical and anti-intellectual purely humanistic voluntarism may have influenced Evola more strongly than Croce who, soon after the Second World War, published a moderate and short treatise under the title 'Perché non possiamo non dirci Cristiani?' ('Why can we not not call ourselves Christians?'). It appeared at a time when Croce's Liberal Party, reduced to a small historical remainder, joined the government of the leading popular Christian Democracy, and Gentile had already died as a Fascist.

The Indian historian of *The Chief Currents of Contemporary Philosophy*, Dhirendra Mohan Datta, wrote in the Conclusion of his critical presentation of the Italian idealism of Croce and Gentile: 'We may also mention in conclusion that the idea of the creative activity of mind - the theory that the mind, our own human mind, has the freedom to create the world - has exercised a great influence on the Italian mind. It has bred the confident belief that mind is the maker of his destiny and this conviction is at the back of the modern Italian political renaissance. The teachings of Croce and Gentile that our mind *makes* reality, that man makes history, are the speculative background of the

political doctrine of *fascism*. Gentile's denial of the metaphysical independence of the individual leads to the fascist denial of political independence of the individual. Gentile is regarded, therefore, as the philosopher of fascism.' Thus he was recognised as the founder of the educational system for that era. Croce, the theorist of the new expressionist art, abstained from such ideological activity.

However, the reality of the expressionist art and its development after the First World War did not remain apolitical within the framework of Crocean aesthetics. Dadaism, among whose Italian and Mitteleuropean founders Evola has been mentioned above, soon became so radical, notably on the stages of French theatres, that it provoked brawls between actors and spectators on the open stage. In 1923, during a show of the leading Dada writer, Tristan Tzara, in Paris, the surrealist leader in art and politics, André Breton, jumped onto the stage and with his walking stick broke the arm of a Dadaist player while the author Tristan Tzara, with some others, had to be taken to the police for first aid. Precisely at that time Evola renounced his artistic career and dedicated his most diligent interest to the study of philosophy. Already in 1924 he had written two extensive volumes of his main philosophical treatise, *Teoria e Fenomenologia dell'Individuo Assoluto*, a Hegelian glorification of the powerful individual as the world-creating force. He will never abandon this belief in an Absolute Self despite all the crises and conflicts which his Fascist commitment will oppose as an absolute Realism against the idealistic background of Hegelian sources of its origins; not to speak of the politically insoluble conflict of Fascism vs. Christianity (Croce's 'Why can we not not call ourselves Christians?') Intimately, at its lowest ebb in the *The Doctrine of Awakening*, Evola will, under Buddhist influence, succeed in grappling with the 'Destruction of the Demon of Dialectics' without sophistication.

In the meantime, in the arena of fine arts another expressionist trend in modern art had predominated over Dadaism and pushed it aside. This was the futurist art - similarly politically dangerous for the new order - which was popularised especially in Marinetti's poetical trend. Ultimately, the Italian figurative

art of the Fascist era found its most adequate brutal expression in the Cubism of Carlo Carrà, the sculptor of Mussolini's warrior profile with the threateningly protruding jaw - *la mascella fascista*. It may have happened in some vague analogy suggested by that jaw that some time later Evola's ostensibly pro-germanic Istituto de Mistica Fascista was dubbed by his antagonists as *mastica fascista*, or 'Fascist mastication'.

III

Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) was the dominating personality, towering above Italian interests in Asian cultures (prevalently Indo-Tibetan) between 1920-80. In his prohibitive authority as protector of the Fascist régime against popular infiltration of Asian religious and spiritual influence (see Gentile's stress on 'moral conceptions alien to India' quoted above), Tucci was above all anxious to detect and prevent any appearance of such Buddhist tendencies that might provoke actual existential interest beyond his own exclusive level of strictly specialist and limited academic levels - not to speak of the most widespread theosophical attempts at mediation in romanticist rapprochements toward spiritual universalism. This was also the orientation in which we might visualise an implicit dialectical tension against Evola's subsequent attempt - at the time of the decline of the Fascist era - to integrate the *ressentiment* of his Fascist traditional aristocratism with the tragical world-view of the original Pāli Buddhism of primeval Indo-European 'Aryan-ness of the Doctrine of Awakening'.⁴

Pāli Buddhism had for Tucci a marginal importance besides the main stream of his Mahāyānist concern. As far as I know there never occurred an open confrontation between these two Fascist possibilities. Tucci obviously considered himself incomparably above any other alternative approach. Besides that, it would have been too late in 1943, when Evola's book appeared, to venture such political disquisitions. Soon after the publication of Evola's book in Bari, Rome was conquered by Anglo-American forces, and Tucci was pensioned off as Professor Emeritus for a few years as a Fascist suspect of illegal journeys and depredation in Tibet. But already by 1948 this 'Marco Polo redivivus' was rehabilitated and enabled to organise his last expedition

to Tibet with the most splendid display in the effects of cultural results, equipped with experts in recording colour films and music in temple ceremonies and documentation of the art. As an expert, presumably the best known in the world at that time, in linguistic (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), epigraphical and archaeological knowledge, he was considered indispensable in organising the planning of further excavation work in Pakistan and Afghanistan for the next ten years.

Since his first expedition to Tibet in 1933, enabled 'through the enlightened intervention of the Head of Government' (Mussolini), and the financial backing of Italian industry and commerce, Tucci's ambition was 'to study the country from the historical, archaeological and epigraphical point of view'... 'collecting precious material'..., and above all 'to place Italy firmly on the map as far as Oriental studies were concerned'; and 'in this he succeeded brilliantly.' In the obituary of his death he was called 'the Great Lama of the West'.

Since his initial visit to Tibet in 1927, Tucci was 'always travelling on foot and in the company of a lama, claiming to have been a Tibetan in a previous life', and behaving as a humble novice, recognised occasionally as a 'lama rinpoché' - but on the other hand, he was notoriously known in Europe as very clever and 'able to transport from Tibet to Rome enormous quantities of manuscripts, objets d'art and artefacts for subsequent study and reproduction'.⁵ For these results and for his overall attitude to the Buddhist religion at home we could almost designate to him the attribute *defensor fidei*; but of what faith? - It is better not to ask that question.

The most conspicuous result of Tucci's last expedition was the outsize luxury edition of *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 'an artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings in perfect colour reproduction, preceded by a survey of historical, artistic, literary and religious development of Tibetan culture' (3 vols, Rome 1949; repr. Kyoto 1980). This became a landmark in Tucci's reorientation towards a free and most fertile activity in the domain of widespread cultural production of works of universal interest during the last twenty-five years of his literary and scholarly writings. At the beginning of his explorations in

Tibet, the best he dared present with a Fascist smack of murder mystery was the book on *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto* (Milan 1937; repr. as *Tibet ignoto*, 1978). However, in the 'Chronicle' of his expedition in 1933, we can also find serious and sincere efforts to explain how 'this people, apparently so rude and primitive, who have been able to rise to the supreme heights of philosophic speculation and the highest mystic exaltation, also possess an innately profound and spontaneous sense of art.' Speaking of Buddhism, he emphasised 'the grand doctrinal conceptions and profound mystical experiences of the mahāyāna... one of the mystical creeds most worthy of study and of the most profoundly felt and uplifting beliefs...', concluding that 'it is therefore desirable... that one begins the study of this mystic and magic literature of Tibet from which psychologists and psychoanalysts will have much to learn'⁶.

The first title on the list of Tucci's bibliography is an article published in the periodical *Religione* (XV) in Rome 1920: 'A proposito dei rapporti tra cristianesimo e buddhismo'. In the next year's issue of the same periodical (XVII) he published: 'L'influsso del buddhismo sulla civiltà dell'Estremo Oriente'. This was not Tucci's last contribution to *Religione* whose publication was discontinued as a consequence, it seems, of its association with the Theosophical Society which at that time broke into two factions due to political pressure. Evola appears in this conflict as an important protagonist on the Fascist side against the originally English organisation presided over at that time by the Irish revolutionary Socialist active in India, Annie Besant. In *Religione* of 1926, Evola announced the split. ('È doveroso avvertire che con la teosofia besantiana non ha connessione alcuna la Lega Teosofica di Via Gregoriana a Roma, che è un movimento italiano indipendente, verso direzioni di sano e positivo misticismo...')⁷.

At about the same time Tucci availed himself of the theosophical contacts of the aristocratic relatives of his family with Adyar's theosophists to organise successfully his first visit to India.

Before that, Tucci had started his career as a Sinologist and published two books - *Storia della filosofia cinese antica* (1922)

and *Apologia del Taoismo* (1924). The advantage of these books was that they appeared a few years before the more extensive works on the history of Chinese philosophy which later became standard textbooks in European literature, at least in Germany: A. Forke *Geschichte der chinesischen Philosophie* (Hamburg 1927) and H. Hackmann *Chinesische Philosophie* (Munich 1927). Even R. Wilhelm's books on this specific subject (*Chinesische Philosophie*, Breslau 1929) and the best-known Chinese scholar's (Hu Shih) on the development of Chinese logic appeared at the same time if not later than those of Tucci.

In India Tucci taught Chinese besides Italian at the University of Calcutta and Tagore's free university at Shantiniketan. His best known work of this Indian period was *Pre-Dhinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Baroda 1929; repr. San Francisco 1967). His treatises on similar aspects of Buddhist logic continued to occupy him even later. The high standard of his knowledge of Indian philosophies was ultimately confirmed in one of his main post-war voluminous works, *Storia della filosofia indiana* (Bari 1957). A rare and most useful advantage of this history consists in 400 pages (the second volume of the second edition of 1977) dealing with 'Problems' specific to all schools, trends and systems of classical Indian philosophy (problems of knowledge, of methods, of God, of the self, of categories, of 'physics and atomistic theory', of causality, of the universals, space and time, ethics, language and aesthetics).

Tucci's investigations into Tibetan epigraphy and history during the Fascist era were published in Italy by the Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome (whose member he was since 1929) in four volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* (1932-41). Vol. IV contains reproductions of photographs of documentation without much pretension to their artistic value***.

After the War his reawakened interest in subjects of religion contained in books of general interest began with *Asia religiosa* (Rome 1946) and culminated in *Teoria e pratica del Mandala* (Milan 1949; repr. Rome 1969 - English translation, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, London 1961, New York 1978; German, *Geheimnis des Mandala, Theorie und Praxis*, Munich 1972; French, *Théorie et pratique du Mandala*, Paris 1974).

IV

After the fall of Fascism the books of the pre-Fascist era, especially the Neumann-De Lorenzo translation of the Majjhima-nikāya, were no longer available. It was only in 1960-61 that the same publishers, Laterza in Bari, published the first integral translation of the Dīgha-nikāya by Eugenio Frola. Frola's new translation of the Dhammapada (*L'orma della Disciplina*) appeared in Turin in 1962 with the translator's comments and cross-references to other Pāli texts. Frola died that same year but a second edition appeared in 1968.

In 1971 a new organisation based on Pāli Buddhism, connected with the Buddhist Publication Society of Nyānaponika Mahāthera in Kandy, was constituted in Florence by Luigi Martinelli under the name Associazione Buddhista Italiana. Its first publication was the Dhammapada, translated by Martinelli with a comparative interpretation under the title *Etica buddhista ed etica cristiana*. This was followed by his translation of a manual of Buddhist meditation by Nyānaponika. In 1972 a Buddhist shrine room was opened at the centre of the Association in Florence. Since then I have received no further information about the activities of that group.

The intention of this group was to present Buddhism in a more popular, non-academic form, in contradistinction to Tucci's exclusive and forbidding analyses of particular aspects of Mahāyānic doctrines primarily from their Tibetan sources.

In his critical comparison with Christianity the fundamental attitude of the Buddha is distinguished by Martinelli as an 'anticipated awareness of the fact that only a small group of persons distinguished by a special character and capacity would be able to appreciate, to understand, and to follow the true and full value of his teaching'⁸.

Martinelli's conclusions tend to explain doctrinal differences as arising from the background of psychological differences between two types of human character or religious mentality within a still wider historical framework. These typological categories are broadly determined as the rational and the emotional. The Buddha and Christ are 'two sublime models commendable to two

different types of human character, perhaps also to two different situations in the life of one and the same man.' Buddhism suits better the rational, and Christianity the emotional type of religious mentality.

Thus Martinelli's book appeared in an Italy permeated by the new conciliative climate, inaugurated by the well-known change of attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in inviting other religions to a 'dialogue' (a term justly preferred in Rome to the less friendly word 'discussion').

Yet, pressed between two neo-Mahāyānist currents, resulting both from a Fascist impetus - Tucci's academic exclusiveness on the one hand, and Evola's pseudo-aristocratic emulation of a samurai militant brutality on the other -, conciliatory endeavours to establish a 'middle way' corresponding to Martinelli's readiness to enter into 'dialogue' could find no sufficient footing in the barren ground of the *puthujjanā* commonsense and 'horizontal' rationality flatly discredited in all authoritarian religious establishments.

V

Between the two 'eras' - the pre-Fascist and the post-Fascist - Evola remained isolated at least as the last Pāli Buddhist of the Fascist model. However, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his death as a neo-Fascist ideologist, he remains indisputably the most remarkable non-popular and nonconformist elitist who, ultimately, after his desperate neo-Fascist 'riding on the tiger' was brought as an invalid on a stretcher to the court of justice as one of the neo-Fascist leaders prosecuted in the 1951 lawsuit.

In the sequel to the present survey our positive interest will be concentrated on the exceptional value and emphasis laid by Evola on the aristocratic virtue as an essential prerequisite - *śīlāṃ*, karmically conditioned - for the approach of an *ariya-puggala gotra-bhū* to the *ariya-sacca-magga* that is a noble character's introversion on the ennobling way of cultivation of truth conceived essentially as the ethos of knowledge⁹.

(To be continued)

NOTES

¹ Gianni Ferracuti *Julius Evola*, Rimini 1984, p.8.

* *Ed.* See Eugenio Garin *Cronache di filosofia italiana, 1900-43* (Bari 1955) and Alastair Hamilton *The Appeal of Fascism. A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism, 1919-45* (London 1971, pp.3-89).

² Wildon Carn *The Philosophy of Croce*. Quoted from an Indian standpoint by Dharendra Mohan Datta in *The Chief Currents of Contemporary Philosophy*, University of Calcutta 1961, p.87.

** *Ed.* The only reference to his apparent interest in Buddhism would appear to be 'Croce and Buddhism' in S.N. Dasgupta *Philosophical Essays* (Calcutta 1941 repr. Delhi 1982).

³ Cf. Datta, *op. cit.*, p.109

⁴ 'Aryan-ness of the Doctrine of Awakening' is the title of Ch.II, part I. - 'Principles' of Evola's basic 'Study on Buddhist Ascesis' in *The Doctrine of Awakening*; quoted in the sequel to the translation by H.E. Musson, later Bhikkhu Nāṇavīra (who died in Sri Lanka in 1965). The original - *La Dottrina del Risveglio* - was published in Bari 1943; a new edition appeared in Milan 1973, a year before Evola's death.

⁵ See the obituary of Tucci by R. Webb in BSR 1, No.2, 1984, pp.157-9.

⁶ *Ib.*, p.158f.

⁷ G. Ferracuti, *op. cit.*, p.9, n.13.

*** *Ed.* All four volumes (in seven parts) have been translated into English and, under the editorship of Lokesh Chandra, published by Biblia Impex, New Delhi 1988.

⁸ References are from my book review in *Buddhist Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.3, London 1973: 'Buddhism and Christianity in Italy: a new comparative analysis based on the Dhammapadam.'

⁹ Cf. my paper 'The Ethos of Knowledge in Kantian and in Buddhist Philosophy' in *Kant Studien*, No.1, 1986.

EKOTTARĀGAMA (IX)

Traduit de la version chinoise par

Thích Huyṣn-Vi

Fascicule cinquième

Partie 12

L'unique voie de s'éveiller à la vérité¹

1. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Tathāgata disait aux bhikṣu: Il y a l'unique voie de s'éveiller à la vérité². Elle permet aux êtres de se purifier, d'éliminer tous les chagrins, tous les soucis, d'atteindre la sagesse et parvenir au Nirvāṇa. Car on peut détruire les cinq voiles (nīvaraṇa) et réaliser les quatre fixations de l'attention.

En quoi consiste l'unique voie de s'éveiller? C'est concentrer son esprit sur un point. C'est ce qu'on appelle l'unique voie de s'éveiller. Quelle est cette vérité? C'est le noble chemin à huit branches des sages³:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. La vue correcte | 2. La conception correcte |
| 3. La parole correcte | 4. L'action correcte |
| 5. La manière de vivre correcte | 6. L'effort correcte |
| 7. L'attention correcte | 8. La concentration correcte. |

Voilà la vérité du noble chemin. C'est aussi l'unique voie de s'éveiller à la vérité. Quelles sont les cinq espèces de voiles (nīvaraṇa) à faire disparaître? Ce sont la concupiscence, la colère, l'excitation, la paresse, le doute. On doit les faire disparaître. Quelles sont les quatre fixations de l'attention? Alors, à l'intérieur le bhikṣu examine sons corps, élimine les mauvaises pensées et n'a plus de soucis; à l'extérieur, il examine son corps, élimine les mauvaises pensées, n'a plus d'inquiétudes; à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur il examine son corps et élimine les mauvaises pensées, n'a plus de soucis; à l'intérieur il médite des sensations, mais s'en réjouit [parce qu'il n'a plus de soucis]. à l'extérieur il médite des sensations; à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur il médite des sensations; à l'in-

térieur il médite son esprit puis s'en réjouit. Il médite son esprit à l'extérieur; puis à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur en même temps, il médite son esprit; à l'intérieur il médite les dharma⁴, à l'extérieur il médite les dharma, en même temps à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur; il [n'a plus de soucis et] s'en réjouit.

Ô bhikṣu, comment un bhikṣu examine-t-il son corps et puisse-t-il s'en réjouir? Alors il examine son corps d'après sa nature, de la tête jusqu'aux pieds, des pieds jusqu'à la tête. Il considère son corps tout entier comme impur, comme indigne de tout attachement. D'ailleurs il considère son corps avec des poils, des cheveux, des dents, des ongles, de la peau, de la chair, des nerfs, des os, des moëlles, du cerveau, des intestins, du foie, de la rate, du cœur, des reins, des poumons etc..., l'excrétion, le gros intestin, l'intestin grêle, des larmes, de la salive, de la glaire, du sang, des pus, des artères, de la bile etc... Tout cela ne mérite aucun attachement. Ainsi, ô bhikṣu, il examine son corps et il s'enhardit à bien pratiquer la doctrine. Il élimine les mauvaises pensées, n'a plus d'inquiétudes et s'en réjouit.

En outre, il examine son corps en se demandant s'il comprend des grands éléments. A-t-il les éléments suivants: l'eau, le feu, la terre, le vent? Ainsi il voit nettement que son corps se compose de quatre grands éléments. Plus loin encore, il examine son corps pour en déterminer ses éléments: le corps de chacun est composé de quatre grands éléments [: terre, eau, vent, feu]. Il est comparable à un boucher ou à son apprenti qui se spécialise à abattre les buffles, qui ouvre leurs corps et les examine: ceci est la tête, ceci est le cœur, le foie, la chair, la graisse, etc... De la même façon, ce bhikṣu-là distingue les différentes parties de son corps et remarque que son corps comprend les éléments tels que: terre, eau, vent, feu. Ces quatre éléments constituent le corps humain. En examinant ainsi son corps, il élimine les mauvaises pensées, n'a plus de soucis et s'en réjouit.

D'autre part, un bhikṣu examine son corps possédant aussi des orifices d'égouts impurs d'où sortent des matières impures. Comme celui qui s'occupe des bambous, observe les roseaux, il

doit s'en rendre compte la différence. Le bhikṣu constatera que de ces orifices d'égouts sortent fréquemment des matières impures. D'ailleurs, s'il observe un cadavre, durant une nuit, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six ou à la septième nuit, ce cadavre se décompose et laisse couler un liquide malodorant. Alors, il compare ce cadavre à son corps, il n'y a pas de différence: 'Mon corps ne peut pas éviter cette phase déplorable.' Si le bhikṣu voit un cadavre déchiré, dévoré par des oiseaux rapaces: corbeaux, vautours ou par des bêtes fauves: tigre, panthère, loup. Puis il examine son corps, il n'y voit aucune différence: 'Mon corps ne peut pas échapper à cette phase funeste.' Il s'agit de bhikṣu qui examine son corps et ayant éliminé les mauvaises pensées et n'ayant plus de soucis, il s'en trouve heureux. D'ailleurs, il examine un cadavre dont la moitié est dévoré par les bêtes et l'autre moitié, pourrie dans la terre, dans un endroit infecte, malsain. Et il trouve que son corps n'a aucune différence avec ce cadavre: 'Mon corps ne fait pas exception à la règle.' Et en examinant un cadavre désagrégé, ne restant que les os, tout le sang disparu, il trouve qu'il n'y a aucune différence entre son corps et le cadavre. C'est ainsi que le bhikṣu devra examiner son corps. D'ailleurs, le bhikṣu examine un cadavre avec des nerfs enchevêtrés comme les lianes. Il le trouve semblable à son propre corps, sans aucune différence. C'est ainsi qu'il doit examiner son corps. D'ailleurs, le bhikṣu examine un cadavre, les os, les vertèbres qui sont disposés chacun dans un endroit différent comme les cubitus, les radius, les os du crâne, les omoplates, le bassin, puis il compare ce cadavre avec son propre corps, il s'aperçoit qu'il n'échappera pas à cette désagrégation! Ainsi, le bhikṣu examine son corps et s'en trouve heureux. D'ailleurs, il examine un cadavre aux couleurs pâles et les os de même couleur, il trouve que le cadavre et son propre n'ont aucune différence: 'Il n'échappera pas à cette règle.' Cela s'appelle l'examen de son propre corps fait par le bhikṣu. D'ailleurs, quand un bhikṣu aperçoit la couleur bleu-foncé d'un cadavre qui se décompose en laissant les os blancs, ou bien la couleur de ce corps qui est identique à celle de la terre, est indistincte à celle du cendre, il évite la concupiscence. C'est ainsi, o bhikṣu, que [le bhikṣu] examine son corps pour éliminer les mauvaises pensées, les soucis, sachant que son corps est

impermanent selon la loi de la désagrégation. Ainsi, ô bhikṣu, [le bhikṣu] examine l'intérieur, l'extérieur et simultanément l'intérieur et l'extérieur de son corps pour comprendre alors le principe du néant⁵.

Ô bhikṣu, comment fait-il, le bhikṣu qui médite des sensations agréables et désagréables? Il se rend compte de la souffrance, de la joie, quand il les éprouve. Quand il les éprouve, il les reconnaît tout de suite. Quand il est dans une situation ni malheureuse ni heureuse, il s'en rend compte immédiatement. Quand il a de bons mets, il les reconnaît sur le champ. Quand il a de mauvais mets, il reconnaît qu'ils sont mauvais. S'ils ne sont ni bons ni mauvais, il les reconnaît aussi ni bons, ni mauvais. Quand il ne mange pas bien, il le reconnaît tout de suite. Quand il n'a pas des aliments ni bons ni mauvais, il les reconnaît tels. Ainsi le bhikṣu médite que la sensation est agréable, désagréable et ni agréable, ni désagréable. En outre, s'il éprouve de la joie, il ne souffre plus, il reconnaît qu'il est dans la joie. Au contraire, quand il éprouve de la souffrance, alors il n'a pas de la joie. Il reconnaît par lui-même qu'il éprouve de la souffrance. Quand il n'a ni souffrance, ni de la joie, il reconnaît qu'il a ni souffrance, ni joie. Quand il n'a ni la souffrance, ni la joie, il reconnaît qu'il n'a ni souffrance, ni joie. Quand il a bien compris la cause de tout cela, il est heureux. Et il examine toutes les choses, [tous les moyens] pour détruire [toutes les causes de la souffrance et de la joie]⁶. Puis il examine tous les procédés pour éliminer [toutes les causes de la souffrance et de la joie]⁶. Ou bien s'il a des sensations, mais il peut connaître, voir et réfléchir sur l'origine non-stable, et il est heureux de ne pas avoir des pensées mondaines, alors il n'a pas peur; et parce qu'il n'a pas peur, il réalise le Nirvāṇa. La renaissance est terminée, la vie de pureté (*brahmacarya*) est accomplie. Le cycle fini, [il n'est plus sous l'emprise de la souffrance]. Il pénètre la vraie vérité. C'est ainsi que le bhikṣu examine des sensations, il élimine les illusions. Il n'a plus aucun souci. Ainsi le bhikṣu pénètre l'intérieur comme l'extérieur et simultanément l'intérieur et l'extérieur des sensations.

Ô bhikṣu, comment un bhikṣu examine-t-il son esprit pour en

être heureux? Quand il commence à avoir la concupiscence, il sait tout de suite qu'il a la concupiscence. Quand il ne l'a pas, il sait qu'il ne l'a pas; à avoir colère, il le sait immédiatement, à avoir l'ignorance, il le sait sur le champ, s'il n'en a pas, il le sait tout de suite, à avoir l'attachement, il le sait immédiatement, s'il n'en a pas, il le sait certainement; à avoir une émotion, il le sait sur le champ, s'il n'en a pas, il le sait sûrement; à avoir l'illusion, il le sait immédiatement; s'il n'en a pas, il le sait exactement; s'il a la divagation, il en reconnaît l'existence, s'il n'en a pas, il le sait sur le champ. À avoir l'embrouillement, il le sait immédiatement; s'il ne l'a pas, il le sait aussi rapidement. À avoir un grand cœur, il le sait immédiatement, s'il ne l'a pas, il le sait aussi rapidement. À avoir une immense compassion, il le sait immédiatement. S'il ne l'a pas, il le sait aussi rapidement. À avoir l'esprit concentré, il le sait immédiatement. S'il ne l'a pas, il le sait aussi rapidement. N'avoir pas la libération, il le sait tout de suite. S'il l'a, il le sait immédiatement. Ainsi, ô bhikṣu, [le bhikṣu] réalise la fixation de l'attention [examinant] l'esprit; il examine toutes les choses, [tous les moyens] pour détruire [toutes les causes de la souffrance et de la joie]⁶. Puis il examine tous les procédés pour éliminer [toutes les causes de la souffrance et de la joie]⁶. Il pénètre toute chose et s'en rejouit.

Il faut connaître, voir et considérer, mais sans penser à des choses qui sont sans base. In ne [faut pas] penser à des choses mondaines. N'ayant plus de pensées mondaines, on n'a pas peur; et parce qu'on n'a pas peur, [à la fin] on réalise le Nirvāṇa: la renaissance est terminée, la vie de pureté (*brahmacarya*) est accomplie. Le cycle fini, il n'y a plus à faire et on n'est plus sous l'emprise de la souffrance. On pénètre la vraie vérité. Ô bhikṣu, examinant l'esprit à l'égard de l'esprit dans cette manière, on élimine les illusions et on n'a plus aucun souci. Ô bhikṣu, [le bhikṣu] pénètre l'intérieur comme l'extérieur et simultanément l'intérieur et l'extérieur de l'esprit; voilà la fixation de l'attention de l'esprit.

Ô bhikṣu, comment fait-il, [le bhikṣu] qui médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma...⁷. Ainsi [un bhikṣu] est attentif, s'appuy-

ant sur la méditation, ne s'appuyant pas sur le désir (*lobha*). Il s'appuie sur la cessation en s'appuyant sur l'écartement de tout mauvais dharma karmique (*akuśaladharma*). Dans cette pratique de l'attention et de la conscience il produit de l'énergie (*vīrya*); ainsi, il pratique l'attention et s'y appuie. Développant le *samādhi*, il persévère attentivement. Méditant dépourvu de désir, il s'appuie sur la cessation en écartant tout mauvais dharma karmique. C'est ainsi, ô bhikṣu, que [le bhikṣu] médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma.

En outre, ô bhikṣu, [un bhikṣu] dépourvu de désir et de tout mauvais dharma karmique, médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma, se réjouissant du bonheur de la première contemplation (*dhyāna*) où se trouvent l'examen (*vitarka*) et le jugement (*vicāra*). En plus, ô bhikṣu, après la cessation de l'examen et du jugement, [un bhikṣu] éprouve de la joie (*prīti*), gagne la paix intérieure et la fixation de la pensée sur un point. Il médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma, traversant en s'y en réjouissant la deuxième contemplation. En plus, ô bhikṣu, renonçant à la joie et persévérant attentivement, il éprouve dans sa personne cette sensation du bonheur [très raffiné] cherché par les Nobles. Amenant attentivement la vie de pureté, il médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma, en séjournant dans la troisième contemplation. En plus, ô bhikṣu, dépassant le chagrin et la joie, la tristesse et l'allégresse, dépassant la souffrance et le bonheur, il séjourne attentivement dans le bonheur [le plus raffiné] de la quatrième contemplation. Ainsi, ô bhikṣu, il médite les dharma à l'égard des dharma. Il pratique les dharma et aussi la cessation des dharma. Il considère le moyen [d'accéder à] la cessation et il éprouve le bonheur. Tout de suite il réalise la fixation de l'attention à l'égard des dharma.

Il faut connaître, voir et considérer, mais sans penser à des choses qui sont sans base. Il ne [faut pas] penser à des choses mondaines. N'ayant plus des pensées mondaines, on n'a pas peur; et parce qu'on n'a pas peur, [à la fin] on réalise le Nirvāṇa; la renaissance est terminée, la vie de pureté est accomplie. Le cycle fini, il n'y a plus à faire et on n'est plus sous l'emprise de la souffrance. On pénètre la vraie vérité.

Ô bhikṣu, c'est en s'appuyant sur cette unique voie de s'éveil-

ler à la vérité que tous les êtres vivants [peuvent] atteindre la pureté et dépasser le chagrin et la joie. Ils [peuvent] gagner le savoir et la sagesse et réaliser [finalement] le Nirvāṇa, c'est-à-dire après avoir détruit les cinq voiles (*nīvaraṇa*) et après avoir réalisé les quatre fixations de l'attention.

Ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.¹

NOTES

¹ Voir T2, 567c29 et suiv.

² 'Unique' ici n'a pas le sens de 'seule' mais est dans le figuratif, voulant dire 'inégalée/sans pareille'. Littéralement le chinois a 'l'unique [voie] qui conduit à la vérité'. Il existe un parallèle chinois mieux connu de cette version EĀ du *Smṛtyupasthānasūtra* qui se trouve dans le *Mādhyamāgama* (MĀ), et il a été traduit et annoté soigneusement en anglais par le Bhikkhu Saddhāloka: 'The Discourse on the Foundations of Mindfulness', in *Buddhist Friendship* (30th Anniversary Felicitation Vol. of the WFB Hong Kong and Macau Regional Centre, Hong Kong 1983, pp.9-18). Cette traduction révisée ainsi que les notes ont paru pour la première fois dans *Visakha Puja 2511* (Buddhist Association of Thailand, Bangkok 1968). Dans cette traduction anglaise les caractères chinois qui correspondent à *ekāyano maggo* sont rendus littéralement comme 'There is one way'. Cf. la note 1 du Bhikkhu Saddhāloka (*op.cit.*, p.16) qui commente *ekāyano...maggo*: 'Either rendered as "This only way... is this one" or "The only way...", or "There is this one way..."'. Voir aussi *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* II, fasc.14 (ed. K.R. Norman) p.632: '*Ekāyana* = a single (= unique) road...; *Ekāyanamagga*.. a road leading to one place, i.e. nibbāna...'.
 Deux exemples lumineux de recherche qui portent sur les diverses recensions du *Satipatthāna Sutta* ont été offerts par L. Schmithausen: a) 'Die vier Konzentrationen der Aufmerksamkeit: Zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung einer spirituellen Praxis des Buddhismus', in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 4 (Münster 1976, pp.241-66); b) 'Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialien', in *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hinayāna-Literatur* II, ed. H. Bechert (Göttingen 1987, pp.304-403). Dans cette dernière oeuvre (à laquelle il y a une autre allusion plus bas) se trouve i.a. un tableau relevant la section *dhamma-anupassanā* comme trouvée dans toutes les recensions dispon-

ibles dans la littérature bouddhique. Dans ce tableau la recension EĀ semble la moins homogène.

³ Voir BSR IV, 2, p.133, n.14; *ibid.*, V, 1, p.52.

⁴ C-à-d 'contenus mentaux, objets mentaux', ou peut-être mieux rendu comme 'données' ou 'facteurs physiques' (ce dernier d'après Schmithausen).

⁵ Littéralement 'comprendre - rien - que ce soit', c-à-d, comprenant le fait que le Moi et le Mien dans le sens ultime ne tiennent pas; ou bien l'aperçu de śūnyarā. Sur l'EĀ avec 'some thought close to Mahāyāna' sans en fait être 'true Mahāyāna', voir E. Mayeda, 'Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas', in H. Bechert (ed.) *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur I* (Göttingen 1985, p.103).

⁶ Cf. le pāli *vineyya loke abhiññhādaṃmanassam*.

⁷ Cf. Schmithausen, *op.cit.*, p.336, n.135.

(notes par les rédacteurs-adjoints)

OBITUARIES

BERNARD-PHILIPPE GROSlier (1926 - 29.5.86)

The last Western archaeological supervisor at Angkor, B-P.Groslier was the son of George Groslier who founded and became Curator of the National Museum in Phnom Penh. Born in the Cambodian capital, he trained at the Sorbonne, l'Institut d'Ethnologie, l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes and l'Ecole de Louvre and graduated in History and Cambodian. He began working at Angkor in 1952 and ended his career at that site as Curator of Historical Monuments. In 1959 he was appointed Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient's Director of Archaeological Research and, on his return to Paris, Director of its Centre. He wrote on *Angkor et le Cambodge au XIVe siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Musée Guimet, Paris 1957), with Jacques Arthaud *Angkor: Hommes et pierres* (Paris 1956), 'Our Knowledge of Khmer Civilization. A Reappraisal' (*Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok 1960), *Indochina* (London and New York 1962; repr.Cleveland 1966), *L'Indochine* (Paris 1964) and 'La Reconstruction des galeries aux bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat' (*Nokor Khmer*, 1970).

PAVEL POUCHA (Dec.1905 - 15.1.86)

Central Asian studies in Central Europe were represented for many years by Pavel Poucha. Born in Vienna, his family settled in southern Bohemia and after primary education he enrolled in the Philosophical Faculty at the Charles University in Prague. In 1927, after graduation, he became a secondary schoolteacher in the Czech capital but five years later joined the Cultural Department of The Oriental Institute (- which had been founded by President Masaryk, himself a former Professor of Philosophy). Following the Second World War, he became a permanent staff member of the Institute in 1947. In the following year he was 'habilitated' by means of a dissertation on Sanskrit translations in Tocharian and held the post of Head of the Department of Indology until 1958. In the Philological Department of the Charles University he lectured on Tibetan, Mongolian and Old Javanese, Altaistics and Central Asian history (between 1950-7), on the history,

languages and literatures of Central Asia and Mongolia at the Institute, and also taught at the School of Oriental Languages. Following his extensive journeys through Mongolia in 1955 and China (especially to Tun-huang, Turfan and Kumtura) in 1957-8, he represented Czechoslovakia at the First International Congress of Mongolists (Ulan Bator 1959). He summarised his travel experiences in *Třináct tisíc kilometrů Mongolskem* ('Thirteen thousand kilometres around Mongolia', 1955) and *Do nitra Asie* ('Visiting Innermost Asia', 1962).

Of Poucha's numerous literary contributions, the following are the most relevant: *Přispěvky k tocharskému jazyku a literatuře* ('Notes on the Tocharian Language and Literature', 1929): two papers on Sarvāstivādin studies - 'Indian Literature in Central Asia' (*Archiv Orientální* II, Prague 1930) and 'L'Indianisme et les études tchécoslovaques concernant la Haute Asie et l'Asie centrale' (*ib.* 1951); in the same journal he discussed 'Das tibetische Totenbuch im Rahmen der eschatologischen Literatur' (1952). He submitted a report 'On Central Asia according to new discoveries. A geographical, historical, ethnographical and cultural outline' ('O střední Asii podle nových objevů...', *Shorník Československé společnosti zeměpisné* 37, 1931). With the poet, Pavel Eisner, he translated the Tibetan collection of aphorisms attributed to Nāgārjuna, *Prajñādaṇḍa* ('The Staff of Wisdom'), under the title *Šerab Dongbu, to jost Strom moudrosti* (Prague 1952), and translated the Tibetan Book of the Dead (which awaits publication) and a selection from the Sanskrit Dharmapada (*Prameny života*, 1982). In his unique two-volume study of the *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae* (Prague 1955-6), the second part - *Chrestomathia Tocharica* - contained edited fragments of the Tocharian Dharmapada, Udānavarga and Prātimokṣasūtra together with their corresponding recensions in Pāli, Sanskrit and Tibetan.

LAJOS LIGETI (28.10.02 - 24.5.87)

The virtual founder of Mongolian studies in Central Europe, Lajos Ligeti was born in the northern Hungarian town of Balassagyarmat. He entered Budapest University where he read Classical and Turkish Philology and after obtaining his doctorate he undertook post-graduate studies at the Sorbonne where he attended the lectures

in Sinology by H. Maspero, Tibetan by Bacot and Mongolian and related subjects by Pelliot who exerted a formative influence on him. Between 1928-30 he undertook fieldwork in Inner Mongolia as recorded in several accounts, notably, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise 1928-31* (Budapest 1933, repr. 1977) and *Sárga istenek, sárga emberek. Egy év Belső-Mongólia lámakolostoraiban* ('Yellow gods, yellow men. One year in the lamaseries of Chinese Mongolia' - Budapest 1934).

His close association with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences began in 1934 when he was appointed a Corresponding Member. At the age of 37 he was made Professor in the Faculty of Arts at Budapest University and, a year later (in 1940), was invited to occupy the Chair of Inner Asian Languages, becoming the first Hungarian to teach Mongolian and Tibetan language and culture, Manchu and regional history. He was also, for a short period, Professor of Far Eastern Studies and of Turkish Philology. He initiated the teaching of Altaic subjects at Szeged University (to which he bequeathed his vast private library) and trained a school of scholars who specialised in Tibetan and Mongolian studies. Under the auspices of the Altaic Faculty Research Group of the Academy of Sciences, Ligeti led a team to collect and publish the oldest remains extant of Mongolian literature, dating from the 13th to 16th centuries. Their publication of transliterated texts have regularly appeared since 1963 under the collective title, *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* ('Dictionary of Mongolian Linguistic History'), now reprinted as *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*. This series has proved to be the most comprehensive collection in Mongolian ever compiled. The texts of the various inscriptions, documents and records of literature, history and religious activity in different alphabets - Uighuric, Chinese, 'Phags-pa - appear in a uniform romanised transcription, many for the first time, supplemented with introductions in French. A companion series, *Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum*, contain the lexicographic material.

In 1968 Ligeti reorganised the moribund Kőrösi Csoma Társaság (Society) which had been founded in 1920 to study the languages, literatures, history and culture of Asia. He became its President and Editor of its serial publication, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

Hungarica which includes two of his own compilations: *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé I* (1942-4) and the facsimiles of the Mongolian and Tibetan texts of *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol I* (1948). In addition, Ligeti was Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences for nearly two decades and served as chief editor of his own creation, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, the prestigious bi-annual of the Academy which is published in English, French, German and Russian.

The miscellaneous writings of Ligeti include *Tibeti források Közép-Azsia történetéhez* ('Tibetan sources for the history of Central Asia' - 1936), a general survey of *Az ismeretlen Belső Ázsia* (1942), 'Notes sur le colophon du "Yitikan Sudur"' (*Asiatica. Festschrift* for F.Weller, Leipzig 1954), 'Le Kanjur mongol imprimé de la Bibliothèque nationale' (JA 1965), 'A propos de la version mongole des "Douze actes de Bouddha"' (AOH 1967), 'A propos de quelques textes mongols préclassiques' and 'Le Fragment de 1312 du Bodhicaryāvatāra et les versions K et T' (AOH 1970), 'Autour du Säkiz yükmäk yaruq' (*Studia Turcica*, ed.Ligeti, Budapest 1971), 'La version mongole des Douze actes du Bouddha' (*Tibetan and Buddhist Studies* 2, ed.Ligeti, Budapest 1984). He also edited 'Les fragments du Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol en écriture 'phags-pa' (AOH 1964) and facsimiles of texts relating to the *History of Buddhism in Mongolia* (New Delhi 1981).

NOLAN PLINY JACOBSON (27.3.09 - 27.12.87)

An American philosopher who became a penetrating and sympathetic writer of Buddhist themes in the contemporary world, N.P.Jacobson came to academe at a mature age. Born in Hudson, Wisconsin, he abandoned a business career in the late 1930s, enrolled at Emory University and, after naval war service, obtained his Ph.D. from Chicago in 1948 for a dissertation on 'Religious Naturalism in the Writings of Karl Marx'. (In the following year he contributed an essay to the *Journal of Religion* - 'Marxism and Religious Naturalism' - which elicited several responses from John Dewey and other American philosophers. Their 'religious naturalism' was viewed as a philosophical bridge from Western theology to Buddhist thought.)

Thereafter, instead of accepting a post at the University of

Southern California's prestigious Department of Philosophy, he lectured at more modest institutes, viz. Huntingdon College (Alabama), Oregon, Florida and North Carolina Universities, Queens and Davidson Colleges (N.Carolina). His formative period was achieved at Winthrop College where, for two decades from 1954, he served as Professor of Philosophy and Religion. He died at his home in Adel, Georgia.

A prolific writer, Jacobson contributed enormously to a philosophical appreciation of Buddhism as witness his articles to numerous publications: 'Zen and Kierkegaard' (*Philosophy East and West* X, 1952), 'Gotama Buddha and David Hume' (souvenir volume honouring the 70th birthday of S.Radhakrishnan, Moradabad 1965), 'The Buddha and David Hume' (*Revue Philosophique de la France et l'étranger*, April-June 1966), 'Oriental Influences in the Philosophy of David Hume' (*Philosophy East and West* XIX, 1969), 'The Religion of Analysis and the Spirit of Modern Science' (*World Fellowship of Buddhists Review* VI, Bangkok 1969), 'Buddhism, Modernization and Science' (*Philosophy East and West* XX, 1970), 'The Role of the Sangha in Modern Society' (*Visakha Puja*, Bangkok 1970), 'Buddhist Elements in the Coming World Civilization' (*The Eastern Buddhist* V, Kyoto 1972), 'Buddhism and Whitehead on the Art of Living' (*ib.*, VIII, 1975), 'Creativity in the Buddhist Perspective' (*ib.*, IX, 1976), 'Purification and Pollution in Buddhism' (*Buddhism and Purification: A Study of Klesa*, ed.G.H.Sasaki, Tokyo 1974), 'Buddhism and the Self-Corrective Civilization' (*Maha Bodhi Memorial Volume*, Banaras Hindu University, 1975), 'A Buddhist-Christian Probe of Man's Endangered Future' (*Eastern Buddhist* XV, 1982), 'A Buddhist Analysis of Human Experience' (*Buddhism and American Thinkers*, ed.K.Inada and N.P.Jacobson, SUNY, Albany 1984). His three full-length works (- all published by Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale) will remain classics in their own right (especially the first): *Buddhism: The Religion of Analysis* (1970), *Buddhism and the Contemporary World: Change and Self-Correction* (1983) and *Understanding Buddhism* (1985).

NEWS AND NOTES

The Buddhist Forum

As announced briefly in the previous issue, the second series of talks under this heading was held at the Centre of Religion and Philosophy at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University) between October 1988 and May 1989. Organised by the Lecturer in Buddhist Studies, Dr T. Skorupski, the participants and topics comprised: B. Siklos, 'Topics in Mysticism: Words and Science', L.S. Cousins, 'The "Five Points" and the Origins of the Buddhist Schools', A. Piatigorsky, 'The Pali *Abhidhamma*: Philosophy or Terminology?', C.E. Freeman, '*Samvṛti*, *Vyavahāra*, and *Paramārtha* in the *Akṣayanirdeśa*', T.H. Barrett, 'Devil's Valley to Omega Point: Reflections on the emergence of a theme from the *Nāg*', S. Hookham, 'The Doctrine of the Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*) and its practical implications', G. Bethlenfalvy, 'Tibetan Studies in Hungary'.

BUE Conference

Over 500 participants from eighteen countries attended the Third International Congress convened by the Buddhist Union of Europe on the subject of 'Buddhism in Western Culture Today', which was held in Paris, at the headquarters of UNESCO, from 7 to 9 October 1988.

The opening ceremony comprised four *pūjās* celebrated in turn by the 100 monks present. Vietnamese, Theravāda, Tibetan and Sōtō Zen monks, led respectively by Ven Dr Thich Huyēn-Vi, Ven. Paroma Chandaratana Nayaka Thera, Ven. Lama Jigmé Tsewang and Rev. Roland Rech, officiated at the four altars erected at the far end of the vast hall. This unusual characteristic was emphasised in the opening address by Dr Ananda W.P. Gurugé, Ambassador of Sri Lanka to UNESCO, who spared no effort in organising and preparing the complex Congress programme in every particular with the assistance of members of the Sri Lanka delegation and of the Union Bouddhiste de France: 'We have been participating in a series of four religious ceremonies each representing a particular tradition of Buddhism: namely Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and Zen. Just a few decades ago, such an experience

was unimaginable unless one was prepared to traverse through Asia on a tour of many thousand miles. Even then, the time such travel would entail would not have enabled one to make comparisons and appreciate the unity and the diversity which are characteristic of Buddhism in practice.'

Formal addresses were then given by him, Prof. Federico Mayor Zaragoza (Director-General of UNESCO), Bruno Portigliatti (President of the BUE) and Prof. Jacques Martin (President of the Union Bouddhiste de France), and these were followed by the reading of a long message of good wishes from His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and of a telegram sent by Ven. Khambo Lama Gaadan and Dr Lubsantseren on behalf of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace at Ulan Bator in Mongolia.

The Congress then launched into its first working session, with papers on the 'Buddhist Contribution to Inter-religious Dialogue' by Dr Vincenzo Piga (President of the Maitreya Foundation, Rome) and on 'Buddhism and the Challenge of Europe: can Buddhism in Europe be European?' by Dr Peter Moore (University of Kent, Canterbury). The topic of 'Buddhism, Philosophy and Science' was dealt with in papers by Profs Serge-Christophe Kolm (Centre for Socio-Economic Teaching and Research, Paris) and Jacques Martin (Faculty of Science, Strasbourg).

The second day of the Congress opened with contributions on 'Buddhism and Society'. Prof. Detlef Kantowsky (Faculty of Sociology, University of Constance) spoke on 'Buddhism and Society: reflections and experiences from Germany' and Dr Jean-Pierre Schnetzler (psychiatrist) on 'Divided Societies and the Middle Path'. The next and final topic was 'Buddhism and the Environment' and the speakers were Roland Rech (President of the International Zen Association) and Carolyn Dustin (World Wide Fund for Nature and past Assistant Secretary of the Buddhist Society, London).

Each presentation was followed by a question-and-answer period to give members of the audience an opportunity to express their views and to seek further clarification from the speakers. It is hoped to publish the papers in the 1989 Yearbook.

This wide-ranging programme was concluded with a religious

ceremony in which, as at the opening of the Congress, different groups of monks alternated in performing *pūjā*. One of the ceremonies, in the Chinese Mahāyāna tradition, was performed by Ven. Dr Chen-Yi, President of the Hua-yen Lotus Society of Taipei, who had come to the Congress with a group of fifty delegates from Taiwan.

In the thirteen years since its foundation, the Buddhist Union of Europe has played an important role in the forward path of Buddhism, and congresses such as this one may well be described as milestones marking a growing presence of Buddhism in Europe and the world.

Annual Meeting of AAR

With a larger number of academic facilities and committed personnel, it is not surprising that conferences held in the USA are usually more ambitious in scope than is normally the case elsewhere. A wide-ranging programme of Buddhist topics was organised by the Buddhism Section of the American Academy of Religion and held in Chicago between 19 and 22 November 1988. There were no less than six main themes (on each of which four to six scholars spoke): 'Relevance of Buddhist Values', 'Modes of Traditional and Scholarly Interpretations of Buddhism', 'Heidegger and Buddhist Thought', 'Elite and Popular Styles of Buddhist Practice', 'Institutional Aspects of Chinese Buddhist Monasticism' and 'Issues in Buddhist Doctrine'. In addition, the University of Chicago Workshop on Buddhism in Cultural Context sponsored 'A Symposium on Avalokiteśvara' on the day preceding the four-day conference.

Another annual event, the 17th Conference on South Asia, was held between 4 and 6 November 1988 on the campus of the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Sponsored by the University's South Asian Area Center and normally attracting 500 participants, this international congress is the only one in the USA that deals exclusively with the Indian subcontinent.

Meetings on Central Asia

1. The School of Oriental and African Studies (London University)

hosted an international conference on the 'Religions of Central Asia' on 5 and 6 April 1988. Participants included Prof. Dr Karl Jettmar - Heidelberg ('Continuity and Resurgence in the Autonomous Religions of Central Asia'), Prof. A.H. Dani - Islamabad ('The Buddhist Religion as reflected in newly-discovered carvings along the Karakorum Highway'), Prof. Dr H.-J. Klimkeit - Bonn ('Buddhism in Turkish Central Asia') and Dr W. Sundermann - East Berlin ('Buddhist Influences on Manichean Literature in Central Asia').

2. The National Conference on Central Asian Studies of China was held at Lanzhou University between 21 and 26 September 1988. It was decided to transfer the Chinese Society for Central Asian Studies (founded 1979) from Beijing to the University campus and, in 1989, to convene an international symposium on Central Asia and the Silk Road. For further details write to Wang Ji-Qing, Central Asian Research Institute, History Department, Lanzhou University, Gansu Province, People's Republic of China.

3. The Franco-Japanese Society of Oriental Studies (Kansai) sponsored a conference in Kyoto between 4 and 8 October 1988 which examined the 'Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie centrale'. Some twenty papers were presented by French and Japanese scholars, including Colette Caillat and James Hamilton.

4. The inaugural symposium of the UNESCO programme for the Integral Study of the Silk Roads was held in Osaka between 24 and 26 October 1988. Speakers from the geographical area involved, together with Japanese scholars, dilated on the significance of the Silk Roads for human civilisation.

5. An international colloquium on the 'Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique: sources écrites et documents archéologiques', which formed part of the above UNESCO programme, was held at the UNESCO building in Paris between 22 and 28 November 1988. This event was convened under the auspices of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Institutes of Archaeology of the Academies of Science of the USSR and Uzbekistan, the Hamza Institute for the History of Art at Tashkent, and UNESCO.

The 3rd European Seminar on Central Asian Studies will also be held in Paris (26-30 June 1989) to discuss 'Central Asia and

its neighbours: reciprocal influences'.

Forthcoming Conferences

1. The 9th International Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (under its General Secretary, Prof. Luis O. Gomez, Michigan University) will be held in Taipei (26-28 July 1989), hosted by the Institute for Sino-Indian Buddhist Studies, National Central Library and the Research Center for Chinese Studies.

2. The First E. Lamotte Symposium on the History of Indian Buddhism will be held between 25 and 27 September 1989 at the Palais des Académies, Brussels, and Colonster Castle, Liège. Organised by the Institut Orientaliste (Louvain University) and the Section d'histoire et de philologie orientales (Liège University), 'the main purpose of the Symposium is firstly to assess the impact of E. Lamotte's masterpiece *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, recently translated into English under the title *History of Indian Buddhism* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), on the new trends of contemporary Buddhist scholarship, by taking into account the results of recent discoveries and research. Secondly, to set up an international team of Buddhist scholars whose primary task would be to complete the subsequent volumes of the *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, which could contribute to throw new light on the still disputed problem of the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism.'

3. The 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies is planned to meet at Toronto University between 19 and 25 August 1990 to discuss the theme 'Contacts between Cultures'. Further details may be obtained from - Secretariat, 33 ICANAS, c/o Prof. Julia Ching, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1K7.

CASA

The Central Asian Studies Association was established at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London) in late 1987 specifically 'to promote studies and convene conferences on the area'. The main individual responsible for this welcome development, Dr Shirin Akiner, the Lecturer in Central Asian Studies, is to be congratulated for encouraging a long-overdue, scholarly appraisal of this culturally and religiously diverse region which

has been almost totally neglected in the UK in favour of Tibet and the Himalayan kingdoms. Hitherto, the sole British academic body concerned with the region is the moribund Royal Central Asian Society which publishes a regular journal, although its contents are mainly confined to contemporary issues.

In order to keep interested students informed of developments in all aspects of this field of studies, including conferences, exhibitions and research in general, CASA produces a thrice-yearly newsletter, *Central Asia File*, which is packed with information and of inestimable value. Membership is £8 or \$15 (full-time registered students £4 or \$8), payable to CASA, and sent to Dr S. Akiner, School of Oriental and African Studies, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG.

Publications

1. *Papers on Inner Asia* is a series produced by the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies at Indiana University. These deal with the anthropology, archaeology, contemporary problems, economics, history and philology of Islamic Central Asia (i.e. Afghanistan and Turkestan), Mongolia and Tibet. The first two paperbacks are G. Imart *The limits of Inner Asia* and A.K. Narain *On the 'first' Indo-Europeans, the Tokharan-Yuezhi and their Chinese homeland*. Further details from Indiana University Printing Services, 638 North Rogers Street, Bloomington, IN 47405 USA.

2. *Journal of Pali and Buddhist Studies* from the Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture (Kyoto), founded by Prof. Egaku Mayeda (Aichi Gakuin University).

3. *The Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies* (announced in the August 1988 newsletter of the Indian Books Centre, Delhi), edited by A.K. Narain (Wisconsin) and H.S. Prasad (Delhi).

4. *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology* (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala 1987). Compiled by Tsepak Rigzin on the basis of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, it contains 4,000 main entries and over 6,000 sub-entries, providing Sanskrit equivalents where possible.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Buddhism. Jikido Takasaki; tr. by Rolf W. Giebel. The Tōhō Gakkai, Tokyo 1987. ix, 376 pp. Yen 6000.

Although Japan is generally reckoned to be the leading country in Buddhist studies today, very little of what Japanese scholars of Buddhism are actually writing (apart from specifically Zen materials) ever seems to find its way into English. Whether this is due to a disinclination to share their knowledge, a fear of exposing themselves to criticism, or, as I have heard, that they simply do not get any academic kudos for publications in languages other than Japanese, the result is clear enough - a veritable dearth. In my own library I have only Yoshito S. Hakeda's *The Awakening of Faith* (1967), a model edition but one which, since Hakeda is a U.S. based Japanese, ought perhaps not to count; Kōgen Mizuno's two volumes, *The Beginnings of Buddhism* (1980) and *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* (1982), both of which were reviewed in BSR 3, 1 (1986), pp.54-60; Senchu Murano's eminently useful (for discovering what the Chinese means as opposed to what it says) 'translation' (or perhaps 'paraphrase' might be a better word) of the *Lotus Sutra* (1974); Kosho Yamamoto's rather strange 'translation' of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* (1973); Akira Yuyama's edition of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (1976) along with a few other Japanese editions of Sanskrit texts; and some odd volumes put out by the Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai. A number of other full-length English-language works by Japanese scholars exist, of course, but even if one had them all it would amount to very little in comparison with the prodigious quantity of Buddhist scholarship produced by the Japanese during this century (a segment of which will be found handily described in Hajime Nakamura's huge bibliography, *Indian Buddhism - A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, 1980). For those unable to read Japanese the story to date has, as I say, been one of dearth.

Now, however, comes a book which, in some ways, is considerably superior to anything we have previously seen, and which also offers a more interesting insight into the contemporary Japanese Buddhological mind than we have heretofore had: this is Rolf

W. Giebel's English translation of *Bukkyō nyūmon* (An Introduction to Buddhism) by one of Japan's leading Buddhologists, Jikido Takasaki. Professor Takasaki, or, to give him his correct Japanese title, Sensei, is, as his new book so amply demonstrates, an expert on Indian philosophy and Sanskrit philology (and it would require a person of similar expertise really to do justice to the book). He was formerly on the staff of the University of Tokyo, and is already well-known to English readers for his earlier and more specialised work *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra), Being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (SOR XXXIII, IsMEO, Rome 1966). Having been approached by the University of Tokyo Press to write 'an introductory work on Buddhism for the edification of the general reading public', the Sensei accepted, hoping by means of his book 'to revive an interest in Buddhism, which in the present age tends to be waning, and... also to offer some pointers for new developments of Buddhism in the future'. To this end, as he explains to us in his Preface, he 'decided against adopting a format of presentation based for example directly upon the teachings of the founder Śākyamuni or one reflecting historical developments'. Instead, he 'undertook to present a tentative reconstruction of the systematized body of Buddhist doctrine in the form it assumed once it had been firmly established several hundred years after the death of the historical Buddha... The frame of reference adopted here was first of all provided by... the three factors which constitute Buddhism as a religion, namely, its founder, his teaching, and the religious community. Secondly... the exposition of its doctrines was organized within the framework of the Four Noble Truths. [This] mode of presentation... inevitably resulted in an overall format resembling that of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and other Abhidharma treatises.'

The Sensei's predilections ought from this to be perfectly clear: he is interested primarily in Early Buddhism, and especially in the doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda school, but since he is writing for readers of a country in which the Mahāyāna has traditionally been held to be of some importance, 'some discussion of Mahāyāna Buddhism also became necessary'. The reader, at this point, may well be forgiven for thinking - what with all this talk of an Introduction to Buddhism for general readers

which is partly based upon, looks, and often reads like the Abhidharmakośa - that Japanese general readers must be made of sterner stuff than your average Englishman (who, or so I have been told, prefers football to philosophy!). But let him take heart for, as the Sensei so ruefully admits towards the end of his Preface, 'in spite of the care taken in facilitating the reader's understanding, the Japanese edition would appear to have met with approval not so much as a book for the general reader but rather as a reference work or textbook for students at university.' Sensei was clearly setting his sights far too high (or too low!), for what we have here is a book which is so exhaustive, detailed and relentlessly philosophic that it would be hard going for most university students, let alone the unfortunate general reader. To see why this should be so, perhaps we could review some of its major features.

After the 'Preface to the English Version', and 'A Note on Foreign Words' which includes a brief but remarkably clear description of Sanskrit and Pāli diacritics (thereby demonstrating just how easy it is to make such things clear to the general reader), the book proper begins with an 'Introduction: What is Buddhism?' which is followed by these chapters: 1. The Life of Śākyamuni; 2. The True Nature of the Buddha; 3. Dharma: The Buddhist Conception of Truth; 4. *Sarva-dharmāḥ*: The Constituent Elements of Existence; 5. Transmigration, Karma, and Mental Defilements; 6. The Path to Enlightenment; 7. Mind: the Agency of Practice; 8. The Ideal Practitioner; 9. The Precepts and the Organization of the Community; 10. The History of Buddhism (in India and Surrounding Lands, China, Korea and Japan). Although it may not be so evident from the chapter headings themselves, as soon as one begins to read the book it becomes obvious that Sensei's main interest lies with the Dharma itself: the Buddha, with whom he starts, and the Sangha and history with which he ends, interest him far less than do details of doctrine. Indeed, his chapter on the life of the Buddha is one of the least satisfactory in the book, seeming, as it does, to end no sooner than it has begun. The book is rounded out with references to his sources, ten of which are Pāli and seven Sanskrit; a curious Select Bibliography of General Works and Translations in English (none of which are mentioned in the text); an excellent General

Index; a Chinese Character Index; and biographical notes on both the Author and, with impressive courtesy, the Translator also.

Although, as we have seen, the book was initially intended for the general reader, all technical terms are followed by their equivalents in Sanskrit and/or Pāli (with full complement of diacritics) and, for extra measure, in Chinese characters too. Since these technical terms are invariably defined with great clarity and precision, and since the Character Index gives both Chinese and Japanese readings, the book may also be used as a multi-lingual glossary of basic Buddhist terminology.

Another interesting, and valuable, feature of the book is the Sensei's device of using what he calls 'extended notes'. These notes, which are unnumbered and in smaller type, follow the general discussion. Sometimes they contain interesting information about, for example, modern Indian language (p.130) or current Japanese beliefs (pp.130-1), but more often than not they contain additional detailed information, backed up where necessary with diagrams (of which a particularly interesting and useful one is that of 'Mount Sumeru and the Surrounding World' on p.134), on technical points which have either cropped up in, or are relevant in some way to, the preceding general discussion. As examples one may cite his extended notes on The Five Aggregates, The Twelve Sense-Fields, and The Eighteen Realms (pp.110-14); on Demigods, Hungry Spirits, Hell and Gods (pp.131-3); on The Three Realms (pp.135-6); on The 108 Mental Defilements (pp.147-9); or on The Synonyms of *bodhi* and *nirvāṇa* (p.167). It is by means of these extended notes that the Sensei is enabled to penetrate more deeply into key points in the exposition and, in consequence, to offer us a much fuller and more thorough account of basic Buddhist doctrines than we have yet seen.

The book, in short, is full of very good things; but like most books it is not without its shortcomings, two of which seem to me to be rather serious. The first of these shortcomings has to do with the quality of the translation itself, a translation which, I am sorry to say, though it reads well enough in parts, is on the whole rather poor. It is clumsy, wordy, ungrammatical, displays a very poor feel for the connotations of English words,

and is occasionally uncertain even of natural word order. A few of the more easy to illustrate examples should suffice: p.viii 'It has been attempted to give etc.,' instead of 'The author has tried to give'; p.32 'Seeing this, his five companions left him, criticizing him of (sic) moral degeneration' ('accusing him of?'); p.39 'Śākyamuni agreed for the first time to the ordination of women, thus (sic) leading to the establishment of a separate order of nuns'; p.58 'concealed privities (sic)' (for 'concealed privates'); p.77 'Such is the origination to (sic) this whole mass of suffering' (for 'origin of'); p.103 'but with this question we shall deal in greater detail in the next chapter' (for the more natural 'but we shall deal with this question' and rather reminding one of Winston Churchill's: 'Up with which I shall not put!'); p.105 'expediential (sic) means' (for 'expedient means'); p.127 'The Yogācāra school deprived the elements of their existency (sic)'; p.139 'It is concerned only in (sic) whether an action is good etc.,' (for 'only with whether'); etc., etc. The translator (who was born in New Zealand) also betrays a tiresome fondness for difficult words when their simpler equivalents would just as well do: p.58 'dextrorsally curled' (for curling to the left'); p.72 'prelusory' (for 'preliminary'); p.141 'aporia' (for, since he is not discussing rhetoric, 'difficulty'); etc. He is also unsure of the connotations of words, giving us on p.58, for example (for *uṣṇīṣa*), the ugly 'excrecence' (with its echoes of 'excrement' and 'excreta') instead of the more usual 'protuberance'. But perhaps his worst howler occurs on p.270 where we read: 'The adherents of the Mahāyāna asserted... that they had returned to the fundament (SIC!) of Śākyamuni's teachings'. The only other time I can remember seeing this word was in Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale', where it is used correctly to mean 'anus' or 'rectum'. This is its primary meaning, as defined by Websters, and although it does have other senses, any translator who is worth his salt, knowing the primary meaning, would obviously have avoided it in preference for the simpler and more straightforward 'fundamentals' or 'fundamental principles'. Translation from Japanese into English is, of course, by no means easy, but it is usually done much better than this. The net result of all this clumsiness (and examples could be multiplied many times over) is to make the book much more diffi-

cult to read than it ought to be because one has to keep stopping to correct the English. We are informed in the biographical notes that the translator, who is a student of Professor Takasaki, entered Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1977 when he was 18, in order to take a B.A. in Japanese. This translation, if nothing else, clearly shows the folly of rushing into the study of an exotic and difficult Oriental language before having learned one's own.

The second weakness I find in this book, and one that seems to me to be, in some ways, even more serious than that of the translator's poor English, is the curiously limited vision of the author himself. The Sensei is evidently a very unusual type of man, a man who is interested in concepts for their own sake, and who has written a book in which concepts loom so large as to blot out almost everything else. What I mean by this is that, in reading the book one gets the impression that, for the author, Śākyamuni was simply a man to whom certain ideas occurred and who, because these ideas seemed to him to be good, set about teaching them to others and collecting a group of followers. Nowhere in this book is there any sense of the stupendous stature of the BUDDHA, or of the world-shaking significance of his DHARMA, or of the amazing fact of the SANBUA having survived so long intact. If we read Conze or Sangharakshita, Suzuki or Bakeda, Marti or Ramanan, Guenther or Govinda, we get a powerful sense of the Three Treasures as being something wonderful and unique and of infinitely precious value. Even the Christian Samuel Beal can find it in himself to describe Buddhism as 'one of the most wonderful movements of the human mind in the direction of Spiritual Truth' (*Carana*, p.vi). But there is no such sense of wonderment in the Sensei. His book, although in many ways excellent and a superb textbook and detailed reference for students of doctrine, could never have achieved what he hoped, and this for the simple reason that it takes much more than mere concepts to move men.

A. Saroop

The Buddhist Handbook - A Complete Guide to Buddhist Teaching and Practice. John Snelling. Century Hutchinson, London 1987. Pbk, 373 pp. £6.95

This handbook should serve a valuable purpose, given the dramatic increase of interest in Buddhism in the Western world these past few years. Intended as a complete guide to the whole vista of Buddhist teachings and teachers to be found in the world today, East and West, this book is packed with information of a very practical kind. It lists all the separate branches and schools of Buddhism, with addresses of regional training centres the world over. However, the *Handbook* is much, much more than a dry list of names and addresses. The author, John Snelling, has also provided a potted history of Buddhism which outlines the growth and development of its different traditions, which should prove stimulating for the newcomer to Buddhism, giving a feeling for Buddhism as a totality and living body of teachings. Though detailed and informative, the book is never stodgy and the author has managed to strike a good balance between the respective claims of tradition.

An amazing amount of biographical information has been packed into this guide, outlining the lives of Buddhist teachers past and present, so that one senses the continuity of the Buddhist tradition. A text of this kind could have made boring reading if written and presented by someone with lesser talents than the author. However, Snelling has been a life-long student of Buddhism, having travelled in the East. He was for a number of years the General Secretary of The Buddhist Society, London, and then in turn, Editor of the *Middle Way* (the official journal of the Society which has enjoyed worldwide circulation). Snelling has also presented programmes about Buddhism for television and radio and already has a number of books on Buddhism to his credit. His career at The Buddhist Society brought him into regular contact with many leading figures of world Buddhism, and this catholicity of experience has given him excellent qualifications to write a guide of this kind.

Buddhism does seem to offer a bewildering profusion of teachings, and for the newcomer to Buddhism I know of nothing better than this handbook which provides an introduction to Buddhism

in its plurality, and then helps the reader to locate a school or training centre suited to his or her personal inclination. In many ways, this book is a testimony to the work carried out by The Buddhist Society in helping to provide an impartial overview of Buddhism as a multi-dimensional and transcultural phenomenon.

This handbook should also prove interesting to those already familiar with Buddhism and seasoned in their practice, for the biographical notes and general outline of Buddhist history have many an interesting anecdote to tell. We could all learn more about traditions and schools outside our own, and John Snelling's *Handbook* conveys a very strong feeling of interdependence and shared purpose at work in Buddhism. From time to time, Western Buddhism has threatened to fall into what one wit called a 'hardening of the orthodoxies' - despite the injunctions left by the Buddha warning us against clinging-to-Dharma. A handbook of this kind should exert a healthy influence upon Western Buddhism and the author is to be praised for his painstaking effort to present an even-handed and open-minded introduction to the treasury of Buddhist teachings.

Upāsaka Wen Shu (Richard Hunn)

A Survey of Buddhism. Ven. Sangharakshita. Tharpa Publications, London 1987 (reprint, 6th edition). Pbk, xv, 524 pp. £9.95.

Intended as a synoptic study of Buddhism, Sangharakshita's survey aroused extensive interest when first published in 1957, and this latest reprint evinces a continuing interest in this pioneering work. Reading through the *Survey*, many chapters seem as fresh and lively today as they were thirty years ago, which is some credit to the author. Regrettably, however, yet other parts of the *Survey* now seem somewhat dated and it was less than prudent of the author to decide against revising his work for this reprint. After all, since the *Survey* first appeared, we have witnessed an unprecedented number of new text translations and Buddhist studies which have irrevocably changed our overall perception of Asian Buddhism far beyond what it was thirty years ago. To pretend otherwise constitutes a form of intellectual and spiritual dishonesty and to imagine that a survey of Buddhism

conducted thirty years ago could still be considered relevant or current in the wake of all these developments is begging a number of important questions. This is a pity, for where the author is familiar with his material, he writes with both precision and beauty, a fact which only makes the less well informed parts of the *Survey* seem much more hollow.

There are a number of outworn prejudices in the book too, such as the author's suggestion that the Theravādins remain entirely aloof and disdainful of other traditions. This may well have been true of certain Theravādins in the past, but a new spirit pervades the Buddhist world today and we have seen monks from that lineage mix quite freely with Buddhists from other backgrounds. Personal prejudices aside, and when keeping to the point, the merits of Sangharakshita's 'survey' undoubtedly lie in his discussion of basic Buddhist doctrine as rooted in the Pāli and Sanskrit based sources of tradition, exploring the contrast between the earlier realistic-cum-pluralistic interpretation of *pratītyasamutpāda* and the later, idealist developments, *point de départ* for the rise of the Mahāyāna with its bodhisattva career. Somewhat confusingly perhaps, the author tends to slip into the habit of calling the Theravādins 'Hīnayāna' Buddhists, thereby conflating or confounding two separate issues - for the term 'Hīnayāna' is not found in Southern Buddhism at all - and the Northern schools which first coined this term had nothing whatever to do with the Theravādins in the south. The author actually acknowledges this much himself when emphasising that the precursors of the Mahāyāna had been Mahāsāṃghikas with their break-away from the Sarvāstivādins and Sthaviravādins in the north. Had this been explicated more carefully, we would have been spared the possible misunderstandings generated by referring to the southern Theravādins as 'Hīnayāna' Buddhists, for this makes it look as if the Mahāyāna came into being as a critique of the Southern schools and endows the terminology of the Northern tradition with a political nuance it should not carry.

Generally speaking, however, the author's analysis of 'primitive' Buddhism and its eventual transformation into the Mādhyamika and Vijñānavāda systems is well written. These are the chapters which have earned the *Survey* a good name and they still

have much to offer the newcomer to Buddhism. Some personal prejudices aside, the author is arguably at his best when writing about the Pāli tradition, but as regards the Mahāyāna in its historical and doctrinal totality, he is on less certain ground. Sangharakshita's survey breaks down when it comes to assessment of the Far Eastern schools and, bearing in mind that it is to Far Eastern or Tibetan Buddhism that we are advised to turn for living Mahāyāna teachings, this is quite a setback. Instead of the confidently detailed treatment accorded to the Pāli and Sanskrit based sources of tradition, we are given little more than a series of fragmentary comments which hardly constitute a survey at all, besides a few paraphrases of D.T. Suzuki on Zen and some random and rather ill-informed remarks on Chinese Pure Land Buddhism vis-à-vis the Japanese Jōdo Shinshū. Despite their considerable influence, the Chinese Ch'an schools are not even listed or named, let alone given a tentative outline description. The T'ien-t'ai (Jap. Tendai) School has been ignored altogether and, but for listing some of the Hua-yen (Jap. Kegon) patriarchs in a brief mention of the Avatamsaka Sūtra, nothing of substance has been said about the Hua-yen school despite its having produced what is probably the largest body of commentarial material and exegesis found in Buddhism. It remains problematical how such scanty resources could provide the basis for a real 'synoptic' survey of Buddhism. Indeed, one would have expected to hear more from an author who spends so much time talking about the need to understand Buddhism in its 'full breadth' and 'ultimate depth'. Despite the author's rather inflated claim to have received 'extensive teachings in all the major traditions of Buddhism', his account of Far Eastern Buddhism bears all the signs of having been cobbled together from the limited sources of secondary material available back in the 1950s - not very much in those days. Quite apart from the fact that whole segments of the Far Eastern tradition simply escape mention in Sangharakshita's *Survey*, what little we are offered often seems of dubious pedigree. For instance, the account of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism is more akin to the views of its ill-informed critics in China than of its adherents and exponents. It amounts to little more than the rather parochial view that the horizons of Chinese Pure Land tradition had been bounded by a sheerly phenomenistic

'Nirmāṇa-land' interpretation. This is somewhat audacious in view of the fact that hardly any primary sources are cited by the author to substantiate his interpretation and, had he explored the relevant sources, he would have discovered that this notion is staunchly rejected by every major Pure Land apologist in China, all of whom inveighed against such parochial minded ideas - though indeed, critics outside the school had often attributed this sort of viewpoint to the tradition by error, in ignorance of what it actually taught. As early as T'an-luan's (d.542) Wang-shēng lun (T 40, 644-684), it had been stated that the Pure Land was not conceived of in terms of a fantastic gandharva-city (*gandharvanagaram*), but rather as an 'inconceivable realm' (*acintya-dhātu*). The whole range of practices involved in Buddhānusmṛti are far richer and much more complex than hitherto assumed in Western Buddhist studies, and when Sangharakshita begins to draw analogies between the phantasms produced by Tibetan lamas (p.374) and the 'Pure Land' visualised by Chinese adepts, this is wholly misleading. Instead of indulging in such empty speculations, the author should have directed his inquiries to primary sources - which he failed to do, with ridiculous consequences. Master T'an-luan understood visualisation of the 'Pure Land' in terms of the Dharmakāya (*Fa-shēn*), clearly something of a quite different order from the illusory phantasms created by Tibetan lamas which would be a species of *vikalpa*. T'an-luan is explicitly clear when he says that the state realised via Pure Land visualisation is free of infection from *vikalpa* (T 40, 836c. 18-838c) and one could go on citing references from other Pure Land apologists such as Shan-tao (d.681), Hui-jih (d.748), Fei-hsi (n.d.), etc., all of whom inveighed against the reductionist 'Nirmāṇa-land' interpretation attributed to the Pure Land school by its parochially minded critics. Therefore, when the author of this 'survey' proceeds to inform us that the Pure Land tradition had to wait until Shinran's Jōdo Shinshū in Japan before recovering its authentic foundations in the wisdom teaching (p.369), he is virtually ignoring everything of interest in the history of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism from 542 onwards and trivialising a whole tradition.

Unfortunately to say, yet other remarks betray a certain discourtesy towards the facts and fruits of Buddhist history. In

an introductory passage (p.3), the author suggests that Buddhism has been characterised by sectarian insularity and reluctance to move in the direction of interdisciplinary synthesis. Thus, he remarks that schools like Zen, the Shin, etc., have tended either to 'ignore or repudiate one another'. This is strange stuff from an author who has spoken of the need to understand Buddhism in its breadth and depth. It may well be that Zen, the Shin, etc., have tended to ignore one another in Japan but, by and large, the history of Far Eastern Buddhism has been marked by a healthy exchange of ideas and disciplines. After an initially insular and even polemical phase, Chinese Buddhism went through a process of interdisciplinary fusion. Thus it is characteristic of Chinese Buddhism to find that a single text or sūtra such as the Wēn shu shuo ching (T 8, 731a-b) might serve at the same time Ch'an, Pure Land, T'ien-t'ai or Hua-yen adherents (and indeed, the Wēn shu shuo ching has frequently been cited by Pure Land Buddhists as an instance of how the devotional and wisdom aspects are linked in their tradition). Some Ch'an masters such as Yung-ming Yen-shou (d.975) were also exponents of Pure Land Buddhism and this master's magnum opus, the Tsung ching lu (T 2016.48) in 100 chüan, was a sustained attempt to reconcile and harmonise all the apparently divergent strands of Buddhist doctrine and teaching - hardly a token of sectarian insularity or obtuseness! Yung-ming's work had to a certain extent been pre-figured in the P'an chiao or 'classification of the doctrines' compiled by Chih-i T'ien-t'ai (538-597) and while we might be inclined to doubt the 'teaching period' theory attached to it by Chih-i, considering it naive, it is nevertheless a valid phenomenological analysis of the various upāya in Buddhism and, to that extent, very 'modern' in its form and structure. Again, masters such as Tsing-mi (780-841) expressed a very clear interest in the 'phenomenological' approach, trying with impartiality to place the various upāya in an overall context. In Korea, the eminent master Chinul (1158-1210) similarly adopted a 'synthetic', interdisciplinary approach, thereby reviving Korean Buddhism. All of these early attempts to arrive at a 'synthetic' view of Buddhist doctrine are completely ignored by Sangharakshita - all attempts to arrive at a synoptic understanding of Buddhism, and it is appalling to see the tradition being given such

such shoddy appraisal.

Indeed, this is the most disappointing thing of all Sangharakshita's 'survey' - the simple fact that he writes and speaks as if he were the first Buddhist to think of authoring a 'synoptic' study of Buddhism at all - a kind of unconscious confession that he is in fact ignorant of some of the richest veins to tap in the history of the tradition as a whole. A surer sign of his fitness to do so would have been a due appreciation of all the historical precedents and earlier contributions along similar lines, but of these we hear nothing in Sangharakshita's work. It is humbling for us moderns to acknowledge that anything written in the West to date by way of 'surveys of Buddhism' still represent the merest preface or even series of footnotes in comparison to Master Yung-ming's Tsung ching lu. We need also to be reminded of the fact that the greater portion of the Buddhist corpus and its teachings, commentaries, etc., remain in languages other than our own, and speculation always needs to be held in check in the absence of all the facts. At any rate, many ideas in Sangharakshita's 'survey' are wholly private, the author's own speculations, and certainly the views on Pure Land Buddhism run completely counter to what the Chinese tradition actually teaches. In retrospect, it would surely have been wiser to survey the field before making the kind of 'summaries' freely indulged in by the author. In 1957, Sangharakshita's *Survey* did break new ground, but to pretend that it could stand comparison with more recent surveys made of individual traditions was less than wise. A survey of Buddhist doctrine it might be, but a 'survey of Buddhism' it is not. If not for the author's account of Tibetan Buddhism, the Mahāyāna would be most poorly represented in this work altogether. As a final observation, it is worth asking whether the early date of this work fully accounts for the comparatively skimpy discussion of Far Eastern Buddhism. A much more recent work, *The Eternal Legacy* (1985), by the same author betrays a similar lack of enthusiasm as regards giving Far Eastern Buddhism its dues. The facts are, we are totally dependent upon either Far Eastern or Tibetan teachings for anything like an accurate picture of the Mahāyāna. Many Northern Buddhist texts only survive in their Tibetan or Sino-Japanese form and therefore it is a rather self-indulgent luxury to treat Buddhism

as an essentially 'Indian' phenomenon, subsequently evaluating and appraising other developments as corruptions of an earlier, 'purer' doctrine. In many cases, all we have left of the doctrine at all is in languages other than Sanskrit. Sangharakshita readily admits this in places, which then makes his rather marginal discussion of Far Eastern Buddhism look somewhat odd. It makes rather strange reading to be looking for 'living' Dharma in the embellished corpse of an Indian Buddhism which died out centuries ago, meanwhile relatively ignoring the still living sources of Mahāyāna tradition in the Far East.

Upāsaka Wen Shu (Richard Hunn)

Seeking the Heart of Wisdom. The Path of Insight Meditation. Joseph Goldstein and Jack Kornfield. Shambhala, Boston and London 1987. xv, 195 pp. £8.85/\$10.95.

The joint authors of this book are two leading Western exponents of insight meditation teaching. Americans both, they spent years training in meditation in Asia (including, at least in the case of Jack Kornfield, several years as an ordained Theravāda bhikkhu) before taking up their chosen task, and have since played a major role in spreading the knowledge of the Buddhadharma and fostering the practice of *vipassanā* (insight) meditation in many countries. Separately, they have already given us two such excellent books as Kornfield's informative and stimulating *Living Buddhist Masters*¹, and Goldstein's inspiring *The Experience of Insight*². Jointly and separately, they have taught *vipassanā* meditation retreats throughout the world. Together, they founded years ago the Insight Meditation Society in Barre, Massachusetts, which has become one of the most active world centres of *vipassanā* teaching.

Now they have produced a book which deserves, and richly repays, close attention, being the distillation of twelve years' teaching experience by these two dedicated and skilful instructors. *Seeking the Heart of Wisdom* has a twofold purpose. Firstly, it is a manual, a book of practical instruction intended, as stated in the Preface, to offer the reader 'a clear explanation of the meditation instructions and exercises that are given on retreats.' In addition to this, it endeavours to set the teachings 'in a

broad context that makes meditation practice meaningful and relevant to our lives' (p.xiii).

On both counts it succeeds excellently. Brilliantly, one would say, were it not that the simplicity and total unpretentiousness of the authors are so far removed from any striving for brilliance or effect. Goldstein and Kornfield are totally concerned with one thing only: to convey as straightforwardly as possible the essence of the Buddha's message, i.e. the nature of suffering and the way to overcome it through mental development achieved by means of meditative insight.

They speak to us in turns (each chapter is initialled, so that we know who is speaking at any given moment), each one in his own distinctive voice, but their individual styles have in common the most characteristically Buddhist virtues of gentleness, simplicity and humbleness. Their shared overriding concern is to present the teachings in the most direct, transparent, unassuming language, and in a manner which makes them easily accessible to contemporary Westerners while keeping intact the original quality and depth of the message. The result is a magnificently integrated joint effort, which will prove invaluable to everyone, beginners and advanced students alike, involved in the practice of insight meditation.

The authors' instructions, like their own original training, are firmly rooted in the Theravāda teachings of South-East Asia, the oldest unbroken tradition of Buddhism, and more particularly, as they inform us, in 'the forest monastic tradition of Ven. Achaan Chaa and the practice of intensive satipatthana vipassana meditation as taught by the late Ven. Mahasi Sayadaw'³. They are presented in a carefully articulated sequence of alternating explanatory chapters and exercises, arranged in three Parts. The presentation has an easy, unforced flow, deliberately eschewing unnecessarily technical language and illustrating its points by means of examples, quotations, etc. taken from a remarkably broad frame of reference (from Neruda, the Chilean poet, to Coleridge, from Zorba the Greek to Mother Teresa, from Las Vegas casino signs to a breech presentation birth, in addition, of course, to many Buddhist stories and anecdotes). But underneath there is a solid foundation of sound doctrinal and practical

knowledge, which ensures the close-knit consistency of the whole.

Part One, 'Understanding Practice' (which comprises five chapters), establishes the initial high level of Right Understanding necessary as a motivation to take up the practice, explains the importance of ethical conduct, concentration and wisdom (*sīla*, *sa-mādhī*, *paññā*, the three main divisions of the Eightfold Path), warns about the difficulties and hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) that one encounters, furnishes the first meditation instructions and gives some information about the deepening levels of practice. The exercises in the Part include practical instructions on the observance of the five precepts, and preliminary practice of mindfulness of the body, of sensations, of mental states and of mental contents.

In Part Two, 'Training the Heart and Mind' (four chapters), the reader is taken more deeply into the elements of meditation. The seven factors of enlightenment (*sambojjhaṅga*) are examined in some detail, showing their close interrelationship and, in particular, the central importance of mindfulness (*satī*, the first of the seven, with its three functions of maintaining clear awareness of the present moment, fostering the other six factors and balancing the mind), the power of concentration (*sa-mādhī*) in temporarily suppressing the hindrances and cutting through the illusion of continuity, and the arising of equanimity (*upekkhā*) through the experiential realisation of impermanence (*anicca*) and non-self (*anattā*). The correlated exercise explains how to develop awareness of the presence of the enlightenment factors during one's meditation practice. Then the life of the Buddha is examined, not only in terms of the historical Siddhattha, but also by considering his life story 'as a great journey representing some basic archetypal aspects of human existence' (p.78). This very illuminating discussion provides excellent material for the following exercise, which is the recollection of the Buddha (*buddhānupassanā*). Further, this section comprises an explanation of the importance of exercising restraint (with appropriate exercises), to be properly understood not as repression or inhibition but, quite to the contrary, as being open to everything that arises, but seeing it with discriminating wisdom: 'With wisdom and awareness we can see that there are skillful

activities that are conducive to greater happiness and understanding, and that there are unskillful ones that lead to further suffering and conflict. Restraint is the capacity we have to discriminate one from the other, and the strength and composure of mind to pursue the skillful course' (p.92). Finally, a chapter whose title speaks for itself: 'Suffering: the Gateway to Compassion', where a simply worded but deeply experienced analysis of suffering (*dukkha*) and its root causes (*dukkha samudaya*), including our habitual, and counterproductive, strategies for avoiding it, naturally leads to a discussion of compassion (which seems to stand here for both *karunā*, compassion proper, and for *mettā*, universal loving-kindness). It is made clear that compassion can only grow genuinely from the acceptance of the full range of human experience, including all forms of suffering both in ourselves and in others. The corresponding exercise includes both the meditative development of compassion, and advice on taking time to be with people who suffer and opening up to them with full awareness.

The first two chapters of Part Three, 'The Growth of Wisdom' (seven chapters), are devoted to a thorough discussion of karma, which provides the framework for a consideration of the different levels at which it operates (immediate and long-term), the six realms of existence according to Buddhist teachings (considered both as planes of existence in successive rebirths and as experiential states here and now), non-self (*anattā*) and the five aggregates (*khandha*)⁴, the nature of thought processes according to Abhidhamma psychology, and the paramount importance of mindfulness as the key to liberating ourselves from the cycle of karmic conditioning. The next two chapters deal with the five spiritual faculties (*indriya*, i.e. confidence or faith, effort, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom) and the three basic characteristics (suffering, impermanence and non-self). Finally, the three concluding chapters aim to deepen the reader's understanding of the teaching and help him or her to integrate the practice with everyday life, so that eventually the meditative qualities of insight, equanimity and compassion may permeate one's whole daily round and one's relationships with all fellow beings. The exercises in this Part include equanimity meditation, observing atten-

tion, observing discomfort in our conditioned response, strengthening mindfulness and developing one's understanding of how to serve one's fellow beings, and motivation to practice this service.

As an illustration of the skilful blend of depth and simplicity characteristic of the authors' way of teaching, I should like to close by quoting a few sentences of what they have to say about non-self, a subject which is particularly difficult for Westerners to come to terms with:

'Our primary delusion, one whose influence pervades all aspects of our lives, is the belief that there is an "I", a self, an ego, that is solid and separate from everything else. But actually this sense of "I" is made up only of the process of identifying: "This is me. This is what I do. I like this. I'm going there. I want to be this way," and so on. It is created entirely by thought and has no substance. It's just thought-bubbles.

'The only way to effectively maintain the illusion of the self's solidity is to keep churning out thoughts, plans, programs, and the rest. If we keep them coming, we can quickly paste it all together and it seems to make something solid. But when the mind begins to quiet down, the whole structure begins to slip, and from the ego's point of view that is scary. It's very simple. When thoughts begin to disappear, who else disappears? We do. Our sense of self is created by our thought process and by the habit of grasping in the mind.

'If we are not caught up in all our thoughts about our experience, there is simply experience in each moment: just seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching. It is all emptiness, all without self. Of course, it is not that we have to get rid of thoughts to experience emptiness, because thoughts are empty in themselves, thoughts are merely a process, words and pictures, conditioned by certain causes and composed of constituent elements. We don't have to make things empty of self; emptiness is their true nature. We have only to experience each moment directly; each moment is a manifestation of the empty, unpossessable nature of reality' (p.145).

Amadeo Solé-Leris

¹ *Living Buddhist Masters* by Jack Kornfield (Unity Press, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, 1977; reprints by Shambhala, Boston 1981, and Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy 1989).

² *The Experience of Insight: A Natural Unfolding* by Joseph Goldstein (Unity Press, 1976; reprints by Buddhist Publication Society, 1980, and Shambhala, 1987).

³ Preface, p.xiii. Detailed accounts of both these masters can be found in *Living Buddhist Masters*, Chapters 4 and 5.

⁴ Here (p.122) a small slip has occurred. It is stated that the aggregates are called 'skandas in Pali', while the correct Pali form of the word is, of course, *khandha(s)*.

Jung's Philosophy and Tibetan Buddhism: Western and Eastern Paths to the Heart. Radmila Moacanin. Wisdom (Grey Series), London 1986. 160 pp. £5.95.

Wisdom Publications have recently added a new series to their already impressive list of works devoted primarily to Tibetan Buddhism. The Grey Series is a response to an interest among Westerners in building bridges between the thought systems of East and West in an exploration of the universality of their methods and ideas. Radmila Moacanin's book is an important contribution to such a literature for it attempts to show in what ways the psychology of Carl Jung shares certain presuppositions with the tenets of Tibetan Buddhism.

Dr Moacanin was born in Belgrade and has studied in Geneva, New York and Los Angeles. She has a doctorate in Psychology and practises as a psychotherapist in California. She is also a practitioner of Mahāyāna Buddhism, having trained particularly with the late Lama Thubten Yeshe, a teacher with a remarkable gift in presenting Tibetan Buddhism to Westerners.

Her book is in fact partly a response to Lama Yeshe's encouragement. The task was a demanding one since both systems of thought are of unusual complexity and richness. To attempt to compare them turned out to be a considerable adventure and Dr Moacanin is frank about her diffidence in attempting it. Any reviewer

faces similar difficulties.

The book is an effective introduction to both systems and succeeds in describing a number of valuable parallels and constraints. It is a work which a general reader can tackle without regret but one which a specialist of either system might find rather thinly spread. Dr Moacanin shows that Jung's view of the psychotherapeutic project of the analyst and the idea of a lama as a 'spiritual friend' have much in common. The essence of the work lies in facilitating the patient or the disciple in his or her voyage of self-discovery of which the most important aspect is the ability to let go and let things happen; to allow the unconscious to speak and to listen seriously to the messages that well up within one. As Jung remarks (p.43), 'Consciousness is forever interfering, helping, correcting and negating, never leaving the psychic process to grow in peace.'

When growth begins certain universal images make their appearance. In Jungian therapy these 'archetypal symbols' emerge spontaneously. In Tantric practice the disciple is empowered to visualise them as part of the *sadhana* or private mental ritual. In either case a proper participation in these experiences of depth mark openings to personal growth. The welling up of deeply repressed archetypal material is, however, sometimes almost overwhelming, which is why in both systems the presence of the guide is essential. There are real psychological dangers here which most individuals should be careful to respect.

The book of course encounters profound problems of which scholars of these systems are well aware and which could not be fully evaluated in a work of this size. For example, the archetypes are sometimes described as almost biological in origin, expressions of an unconscious that is 'collective' in the sense that it is expressed in every human life and which is part of heredity. Yet elsewhere, archetypes seem to be more akin to personal memories of key themes in an individual's early family life, father, mother, hero, old man. There is a vagueness here which often puzzles scholars of Jungian thought. Likewise, in Tantric *sadhas* a trainee is expected to generate the images of meditation out of the primordial mental void and to let them return there. It takes more than a pencil sketch of Mādhyamika philosophy

The Wisdom of Buddhism. ed. Christmas Humphreys. Curzon Press, London, and Humanities Press International, New Jersey, 1987. Pbk, 280 pp. £5.50.

This worthy volume was first put together and published in 1960 and though many Buddhist works have been translated since then it remains a rather well-balanced anthology. It is of course marked by some characteristic emphases of its anthologist, such as inclusion of extracts from *The Light of Asia* and more distinctively, *The Voice of the Silence* and *The Mahatma Letters*. Both the latter works are better classified as Theosophist rather than Buddhist, but as they play a small part in this book they are easily disregarded.

Humphreys says in his Preface that he has tried to make a balanced anthology, giving about one third of the book to translations of the Pāli Canon, another part to Indian Mahāyāna and the last large section to Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism is not well represented, though when this work was compiled the spate of books on Tibetan Buddhism had not begun.

The first chapter is on the Buddha, with selections from such various sources as the Pāli Canon, the Platform Sūtra of Wei Lang (Hui-neng), and a bit of *The Voice of the Silence*, so one may choose one's picture of the Buddha from a wide range. Naturally, a Theravādin will feel a bit lost with extracts on The Cosmic Buddha or His Three Bodies, while scholars of the languages of Buddhist texts will in some cases be dissatisfied with the age of the translations used.

Chapter Two presents translations from the Pāli suttas: The Teaching of the Elders, What was not Taught, No Authority (a characteristic inclusion by TCH!), Causality, Karma and Rebirth, The Self and the Not-Self (with some rather 'Theosophical' reflections by TCH), Three Parables, and the Buddhist Life.

The next chapter is rather strangely entitled 'Two Further Sutras of the Old Wisdom Schools' and contains only pieces of *The Light of Asia* by Sir Edward Arnold, supposed to be loosely based on traditional accounts of the Buddha's life, and from *The Sūtra of 42 Sections*, a compilation made to popularise Buddhism when it was introduced to China.

In Chapter Four we turn to the Mahāyāna of India, a suitably long section containing extracts of the voluminous Perfections of Wisdom, Lotus Sūtra, Laṅkāvatārasūtra and Śūraṅgamasūtra. There are also pieces from Mahāyāna treatises such as a (very old) translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra, the Viṃśika, and The Awakening of Faith. Following on these come passages elucidating some Mahāyāna themes: The Void, Suchness, The Bodhisattva Ideal, The Six Perfections. While a beginner will find Chapters Two and Three fairly easy going, some parts of this chapter would be extremely tough.

For his next chapter, the compiler has drawn on translations of Mahāyāna works from China and Japan, with sections given to Tendai, Kegon, Pure Land and, largest of them all, Zen (praised by TCH as the highest of Buddhist teachings). It looks as if the writer was desperate to include something on Kegon (or Hua-yen) Buddhism and that Dr Suzuki's piece was all that he could find - it would have been better to omit such material. These days we have access to plenty of direct translations of Hua-yen material and need not plough through the complicated interpretations of others. The air clears as soon as one enters the long section of Zen, opening with that wonderful poem 'On Trust in the Heart', though Suzuki's rendering is not my favourite. We are afterwards treated to parts of the Platform Sūtra, Huang-po, Shen-hui and so on; the book is worth having for these gems alone if one has not had access to these works complete.

The Buddhism of Tibet is the subject matter of Chapter Six, much too short to gain a balanced impression of Buddhism in that country. This brevity is accounted for partly by a relative lack of good material translated from Tibetan when the anthology was made, as well, perhaps, as the compiler's preference for Zen. Still, it was not necessary, even in those days, to tack on a bit of *The Voice of the Silence* as though it was genuine Buddhist teaching.

Chapter Seven takes us into Concentration and Meditation, quoting from the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta (but, surprisingly, not from the Visuddhimagga), from some of Conze's translations - which look like extracts from the Saundarānandakāvya, Śikṣāsamuccaya

and a few other works. It ends with another luminous gem: Haku-in's Song of Meditation - 'Sentient beings are primarily all Buddhas...'.

The Eighth Chapter gives eight passages on 'The Buddhist Order' drawn from the Sutta-Nipāta and other Pāli suttas, together with the most important rules of a Buddhist monk and a novice's Ten Precepts. There is also the impressive Daitō Kokushi's Admonition to his Disciples, which rings true in the ears of practising monks/nuns everywhere and most of which would not sound out of place coming from the lips of a Forest Teacher in N.E. Thailand.

The final chapter of six small extracts is 'almost a contradiction in terms' as it brings together a scattering of pieces on Nirvāṇa, of which the most impressive is the great Master Hui-neng on the Supreme Mahāparinirvāṇa.

A useful book for your bookshelf, in some places an inspiring one.

Phra Khantipālo

The Dispeller of Delusion (Sammohavinodanī) I. Translated from the Pāli by Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and revised for publication by L.S. Cousins, Nyanaponika Mahāthera and C.M.M. Shaw. Sacred Books of the Buddhists XL, Pali Text Society, London 1987. xv, 359 pp. £18.00.

Although Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli died in 1960, the greater part of his translation work has appeared since his death, and it was with great interest that the PTS heard in 1979 that a manuscript translation into English which he had made of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vibhaṅga had been discovered at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa. A typed version, edited by Nyanaponika Mahāthera, was received in England in 1982, but much work remained to be done, and the typescript was handed over to Mr Cousins for further editorial treatment. A decision to carry out this work by means of a micro-computer led to certain difficulties and delays, but the first half of the translation has now been published.

Such information as is available about this translation indicates that it was completed early in 1953, and it is therefore

earlier than the same translator's version of the *Visuddhimagga*. Some portions of the manuscript were illegible and gaps had been left to be filled at a later date. These were filled by Ven. Nyanaponika, who also replaced certain portions with the corresponding portions from the later *Visuddhimagga* translation, in the belief that this is what Nāgarmoli himself would have done. Each chapter is followed by footnotes, mainly by Ven. Nyanaponika and Mr Cousins, drawing attention to interesting passages and words which are not listed in the Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary, or giving comments from the two subcommentaries which are available.

Much of the material in this translation can be found in Buddhaghosa's other works, especially the *Visuddhimagga*, but the comments are frequently more detailed than elsewhere, and Mr Cousins draws attention to the fact that the work contains what is probably the most detailed account of Dependent Origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) to be found in ancient Pāli literature. Although this part of the work includes the commentary on no more than the first seven chapters of the eighteen contained in the canonical *Vibhaṅga*, i.e. the *Khandha*-, *Āyatana*-, *Dhātu*-, *Sacca*-, *Indriya*-, *Paccayākāra*- and *Satipatṭhāna-vibhaṅgas*, this amounts, in bulk, to about half the text. It is understood that the task of preparing the second part for the press is in hand, and all those interested in Abhidhamma will hope that its appearance will not be long delayed.

K.R. Norman

Abhidhamma-piṭaka: Yamaka (Vols I and II, £16 each), Tika-paṭṭhāna, Duka-paṭṭhāna I (£19.50 each). Edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. Reprinted by the Pali Text Society, London 1987.

The increase of interest in Abhidhamma matters in recent years, perhaps arising to some extent from the fact that the PTS had in that time published translations of the *Vibhaṅga* (*The Book of Analysis*), *Dhātukathā* (*Discourse on Elements*) and *Paṭṭhāna* (*Conditional Relations*, Vols I and II) has prompted the PTS to reprint the Society's two-volumed edition of the last-named text, and also the two volumes of *Yamaka*, all of which were edited by Mrs Rhys Davids and have been out of print for many years.

Of these the *Duka-paṭṭhāna* was edited in 1906 and the *Tika-paṭṭhāna* in three parts in 1921, 1922 and 1923 with consecutive pagination. These three parts are now issued as one volume. As Mrs Rhys Davids, with charming candour, explained in the Preface to the *Duka-paṭṭhāna*, she had begun the task of issuing that work before the *Tika*-, following the 'not unreasonable assumption of learned cataloguers that two (*duka*-) comes before three (*tika*-)', an explanation which is somewhat surprising in that in 1900 she had already translated the *Dhammasaṅgani* (*A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*), where the *Mātikā* lists the *tikas* before the *dukas*. It is clear that Mrs Rhys Davids did not think highly of the *Paṭṭhāna*. She made quite considerable excisions towards the end of the *Tika-paṭṭhāna*, which she justified on the grounds that she judged 'that neither student, nor editor, nor Pali Text Society, could in decency be expected to expend another grain of energy over the work.'

Included with the *Tika-paṭṭhāna* (pp.8-68, 230-315 and 345-67) is what Mrs Rhys Davids called Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Tika-paṭṭhāna*. It is, in fact, the portion of the *Pañcappakaraṇatthakathā* dealing with the *Paṭṭhāna* as a whole, and consequently it includes the commentary on the *Duka-paṭṭhāna* as well. The *Duka-paṭṭhāna* has the statement 'Vol.I' on its title page. In the Preface to Part II of *Tika-paṭṭhāna* Mrs Rhys Davids alluded to this, and stated that she hoped to include a synopsis of the remainder of the *Duka-paṭṭhāna* in Part III. This summary duly appeared in that part as pp.336-9. There followed similar synopses of the remaining *paṭṭhānas*: *Duka-tika-paṭṭhāna*, *Tika-duka-paṭṭhāna*, *Tika-tika-paṭṭhāna* and *Duka-duka-paṭṭhāna* (pp.340-3). The volume was completed by a brief Index to the *Duka*- and *Tika-paṭṭhānas* and the commentary, compiled by Mrs Helen Stede.

The *Yamaka* has been little studied in the West, and it remains the one Abhidhamma text of which the PTS has so far failed to publish a single portion in translation. In the Introductory Note to Vol.I, published in 1911, referring to what she called 'the repelling method of the work' Mrs Rhys Davids quoted the words of the commentator Buddhaghosa, 'He who even by the method is unable to ascertain the meaning, should learn by waiting on a teacher and listening attentively', and she noted that this

was of small comfort to us, unless indeed 'our friends in Burmese vihāras are able to come forward and help us.' In the Introductory Note to Vol.II (1913), she was able to report that replies had been received from three Burmese scholars, giving information intended to dispel some of the perplexities about the object and method of 'this strange old manual'. The answers given by two of them are summarised in that Note, but the third, from Ledi Sadaw, is given in full in Pāli at the end of the volume. Entitled 'Landana-Pāli-devī-pucchā-vissajjanā' ('Answers to the questions of the London Pāli-queen'), it occupies nearly seventy pages (pp.220-86). A selection of passages of general philosophic interest in this extended essay was translated into English and published under the title 'Some points in Buddhist doctrine' in JPTS 1913-14 (pp.115-63; index p.164). The section of the Pañcappakaraṇatthakathā commenting upon the Yamaka, mentioned in the Introduction to Vol.I as shortly to be published, appeared in JPTS 1910 (pp.51-107). It is hoped that this reprint of the two volumes of Yamaka will encourage the study of this most difficult text, and perhaps prompt someone to make an English translation of it.

K.R. Norman

Index to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. Compiled by Tetsuya Tabata, Satoshi Nonome and Shōkō Bando. (Text Series No.176) Pali Text Society, London 1987. vii, 128 pp. £8.75.

In his review of the Index to the Kathāvatthu, produced by Messrs Tabata, Nonome, Uesugi, Bando and Unoke and published by the PTS in 1982, J.W. de Jong stated (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, 27, 3, 1984, 221) that the index would be of great use to Pāli scholars, and he hoped that other Pāli texts would be indexed in the same way.

It is therefore good to be able to report that an Index to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi has now been produced by three of the same team of Japanese scholars. It follows the same general pattern as the Kathāvatthu index. Words are listed in the form in which they occur in the text, with page and line references to the 1978 reprint of the original 1885 PTS edition; compounds are listed in their complete form, and also under each component part, with hyphens before and after the word indicating whether

it is the first, middle or final component of the compound. For words other than the most common, complete references are given. Even such words as *atthi* and *ho(n)ti* are listed in full, but only a few references are given for particles such as *ca* and *ti* which are said to occur *passim*. The same statement is made about the various forms of the pronominal stem *ta*.

The alphabetical index is followed by a reverse index, which is useful for checking up the first element of compounds in which a particular word is the last element, e.g. anyone investigating the usage of the word *avacara* in compounds in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi will find from the reverse index that it is found at the end of compounds beginning with *rūpa*, *arūpa*, *kāma* and *ettha*. The final section lists corrigenda to the PTS edition. For the most part the errors found are simply the omission of diacritical marks, but there are one or two more substantial points, such as the omission of *na* or the negative prefix *a-*, which has a considerable bearing upon the meaning. By an oversight, one new error is generated, since *ārabba* is given as the correct reading at p.187,25 instead of *ārabha*. The list does not, with half a dozen exceptions, include the words in the List of Errata given in the PTS edition, although account seems to have been taken of them in the Alphabetical Index, e.g. *khantī* is listed at p.7,30, rather than the edition's *kantī*. In these circumstances, it is not clear why there is any overlap at all in the lists. On the other hand, the corrections mentioned by C.A.F. Rhys Davids in her translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi seem not to be included, nor is account taken of them in the Index, e.g. *appanimitam* is listed at p.108, 26, although Mrs Rhys Davids suggested its replacement by *animittam*, which is the reading of all the editions which this reviewer has consulted. It would have been useful to know the basis for these corrected readings, i.e. whether they were found by comparing the PTS edition with any other edition, or whether they were simply errors noticed by the authors during the indexing of the text.

This point apart, Prof. de Jong's comment about the Kathāvatthu index also applies to this index. It too will be very useful to Pāli scholars, who will be glad to hear that the same team of Japanese scholars is also working on indexes to other Pāli

Abhidhamma texts.

K.R. Norman

The Lotus of the Wonderful Law. W.E. Soothill. Curzon Press, London, and Humanities Press International, New Jersey, 1987. Pbk. 316 pp. £5.50.

This is a reprint, the first translation of selections of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra from Kumārajīva's Chinese version, Maio-fa Lien Huan Ching. The book could be thought of now as an introduction to the whole work, useful for those who have no wish, or no time, to go through the Sūtra in its complete translations. The degree of abridgement may be judged if the Hurvitz translation (Columbia, New York 1976) is consulted, for there 330 pp. are needed for the whole, whereas in our work the translated sections with a paraphrase of the rest occupy only 200 pp., and is set in a much larger typeface.

Soothill, who was Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, had, at the date of the original publication of this book in 1884, already collaborated with Bunno Kato, a Japanese Nichiren scholar, to produce the first complete English translation (from the Chinese) of the Lotus Sūtra (later printed in revised form as *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*, Weatherhill/Kosei, Tokyo 1975).

As it is a reprint, this present volume is replete with the curious (to us now) approach of Westerners to an Eastern and exotic religion. We learn, for instance, from the Preface that 'The advent of Christianity to Japan has had its usual influence in arousing a moribund religion from its lethargy, a lethargy which is inherent in Buddhism.' This is presumably because Buddhist monks did not act as Christian missionaries did.

The Introduction starts off by contrasting the hard way of 'Hīnayāna' with the easy faith in the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of 'Mahāyāna'. This sort of comparison forgets both the easy path of making merit adopted by the vast majority of people in Theravāda countries, and the tough discipline of Ch'an/Zen and Vajrayāna practices. This is followed by a useful summary of the contents of the twenty-eight chapters and then some of the translator's thoughts on Doctrine. It is clear from his words

that he is a Christian but one who has been moved, perhaps more than he would have liked to admit, by reading and translating the Lotus. Some things have really appealed to him for he praises the Sūtra, and its unknown authors, in various places though he also points out that Mahāyāna works like this have a feeble claim to be the Buddha's own words.

The translated sections of the Sūtra begin on p.59. It is noteworthy that large parts of the sections translated are in free-flowing unrhymed verse (rendering the *gāthā* of the text), and this makes for easy reading. The selection of passages has been done skilfully to give the reader a good idea of the contents as a whole.

While one may not agree with all of the doctrine of this work one cannot but admire the dramatic presentation of its contents. But what, one wonders, would the Buddha Gotama have made of it?

Phra Khantipālo

Young Man Shinran. A Reappraisal of Shinran's Life. Takamichi Takahatake. The Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario 1987. xv, 228 pp. Can.\$14.95.

The Preface strikes the keynote of this scholarly, well documented and carefully written book. 'The Japanese Pure Land master Shinran (1173-1262) was a product of his age. His angst in the period of the decay of the Dharma, his subsequent search for spiritual liberation, and his ultimate discovery of the path of the nembutsu could not have occurred isolated from the social temper of his time, any more than his religious thought could have developed beyond the fabric of traditional Japanese Buddhist teachings and practices.'

The work is packed with tables and dates, and the copious notes add a lot of information to a closely-reasoned account of the formative years of the man who was to have so enormous an effect on Japanese Buddhism and now, gradually, on the world Buddhist movement. As a work of reference, this is almost indispensable for the serious Shinshū scholar and student. Having said this, it is not a book to read. Well, not for easy reading, anyhow.

One major event in the history of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism was that of the presentation of the 'Kōfukuji Report to the Throne', or Nine Articles complaint against it by other Buddhist sects. It was alleged, i.e., that Pure Land followers did not cooperate with other sects in common Buddhist events. Today all sects could get together on some occasions, but Hongwanji alone seems to refuse, for example, to use the Heart Sūtra as common ground. One has to wonder if this 'we alone' attitude has persisted to this day.

We learn that the celebrated Rennyo married five times and had twenty-seven children, the youngest when he himself was eighty-four years old. Shinran's own marriage was shaky, since he lived apart from Eshinni for twenty-eight years. The nembutsu doctrine freed priests from monastic discipline, but could not ensure family life on an even keel, even for high dignitaries of the sect.

Hongwanji became embroiled in armed conflict in the sixteenth century. Kennyo, the eleventh abbot 'ordered nembutsu followers to challenge Oda Nobunaga... he declared that to shed blood in this fight for independence was to receive the seal of faith from Shinran's tradition and his teachings of Amida's salvation.' This resulted in the defeat of (Nishi) Hongwanji, and the setting up of a rival Hongwanji, the Higashi, in 1600. Comment on this injunction to Buddhists to shed blood is superfluous.

Another startling historical item to emerge concerns the eighth abbot Rennyo. He 'took a dramatic and patently heretical stand. He gave himself the power to grant or deny salvation in the Pure Land and the power to expel followers from the nembutsu movement.' An echo of the papal power to exercise discrimination over heaven and hell in the Christian tradition. It all goes to show that no human institution is exempt from abuse of power and that even Buddhism can sink to violence.

A healthy realism regarding institutional Buddhism of all sects is the only sound basis for a genuine study of the subject, and this realism needs to be extended to doctrine and all other aspects of religion. Faith in the Buddha must not be mistaken for blind faith in other things, and certainly never blind faith

in human beings or their organisations, religious or secular. The need for study of the history and background of Buddhism is essential if any determined effort is to be made to relate the Dharma to modern conditions. What is needed now is a Buddhism in accord with the social temper of our time.

Chitoku

The Way of Korean Zen. Kusan Sunim. Translated by Martine Fages. Edited, with an introduction by Stephen Batchelor. Weatherhill, New York 1985. x, 182 pp. £9.95 (\$12.50).

Every now and again, circumstances conspire to produce a classic work of translation; such is this text, being an English rendering of the Dharma talks and teachings of Ven. Kusan Sunim (1909-83), generally regarded to have been one of the greatest masters of the Korean Zen (Son) tradition in modern times. Happily to say, Martine Fages has given us an absolutely splendid rendering of Master Kusan's work - 'The Essential Teachings of the Stone Lion'. Not only does the translator have an extensive knowledge of the Sino-Korean and Korean languages, but she also studied with Kusan in Korea for a number of years where she lived as a nun, undergoing training in accordance with the teachings set forth in this text. Moreover, the translator also served as Kusan's interpreter during his worldwide tours, giving her further opportunity to understand the necessary requirements to make Korean Buddhism take on living meaning. During the last two years of his life, Kusan took an active part in the preparation of this book - so all told, it could not have appeared under better auspices.

The introduction by Stephen Batchelor, one time disciple of Master Kusan himself, is a little book in its own right, packed with a wealth of information about the Korean Buddhist tradition, tracing its development from the Three Kingdoms period (57-668) through to the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) and the modern era. Though intended for the general reader, this potted history of Korean Buddhism was evidently put together after careful research without a wasted word to be found. This is capped by a fascinating account of life at Songgwang Sa (Master Kusan's temple), a biographical sketch of the Master himself, and concludes with a discussion

of some important terms and idioms which appear in the text, a lively and readable introduction which provides an excellent springboard into the main text.

Kusan fist turned to Buddhism when faced with a serious illness in his twenty-sixth year and eventually studied under Hyobong Sunim (1888-1966), an eminent figure in Korean Zen, receiving the transmission from his teacher after eleven years of hard practice. The diligence of his training can well be measured by the fact that during one period of retreat in an isolated hermitage, birds took the stuffing from his quilted jacket to make their nests. The Master took an active role in regenerating Korean Buddhism and founded the Milae Sa temple near Chungmu, where he was abbot from 1954-7. He was made chief inspector at the National Sangha H.Q. in Seoul and later head of general monastic affairs in Cholla Namdo province. Then came a further spell of duty in which Kusan was in turn incumbent as abbot at Tonghwa Sa and Songgwang Sa temples. In his senior years, he helped to establish the Bul-il International Meditation Centre in Korea plus a number of centres in the West - the Sambo Sa in Carmel, California, the Korean Sa temple and Taekak Sa in Los Angeles, and the Bulsung Sa in Geneva.

The title of Kusan's book ('The Essential Teachings of the Stone Lion') was derived from the nom de plume he used when signing his Zen-style paintings - the stone lion being a widespread motif in China and Korea where it often appears by the roadside. The title verse says a lot:

'At the crossroads is a stone lion. Without saying a word he informs those who pass by of the way. He welcomes the people who come and he bids farewell to those who are leaving. In complete silence he is delivering an endless Dharma discourse.'

We can 'hear' Kusan's teaching when we 'hear' the stone lion expounding the Dharma, metaphorical language for the 'monkey mind' or discriminating mind being rendered as insensitive as stone through the *hwadu* (Chin. *hua-t'ou*) practice hinted at in the teaching, after which another way of 'hearing' or perceiving comes about. The Master's teaching must be understood in this light, for it is addressed in the exhortative style characteristic of the Zen (Son) tradition at its best, wherein pithy hints

and suggestions take priority over discursive language. The various chapter headings give us an indication of the sort of atmosphere we are dealing with here: 'Instructions for Meditation', 'Discourses From a Winter Retreat', 'Advice and Encouragement', 'The Ten Oxherding Pictures'.

A sample of Master Kusan's instruction would be relevant here: 'In Zen meditation, the key factor is to maintain a constant sense of questioning. So, having taken hold of the *hwadu* "What is this?", try to always sustain the questioning: "What is seeing?" "What is hearing?" "What is moving these hands and feet?" and so on. Before the initial sense of questioning fades, it is important to give rise to the question again. In this way, the process of questioning can continue uninterrupted with each new question overlapping the previous one.' ('Instructions for Meditation').

'I venture to ask the assembly: all of you who are endowed with a pure, undefiled original nature - have you completely awakened to it or not? If by chance you have penetrated the profound meanings of the patriarchs, then say something! You may know the unchanging nature of seeing bamboos and pines in the snow. Do you understand?

With the cessation of defilements, there is
no high or low place.

The pure original face cannot be assailed.

In ice, flames appear; the bright light is
all-pervasive.

The subtle Dharma, limitless as the sands
along the Ganges, adorns the entire world.'

('From a Winter Retreat').

From beginning to end, Kusan's teaching revolves around a central axis - the *hwadu* technique, a one-pointed inquiry into the nature of the mind, ultimately indescribable and inexpressible, the underlying nature from which all conditioned things arise - yet in itself unconditioned. Kusan Sunim speaks as a consummate master of this practice, which he had obviously exhausted until it yielded up its fruits. In this respect, Korean Zen offers some interesting perspectives on what we have heard about Zen through its Japanese variants today. For even without the

inevitable misunderstandings generated in the West, there is a purely Japanese-inspired caricature of the business which defines Sōtō and Rinzai Zen in rather over-rigid terms - the 'za-zen only' of Dōgen Zenji versus the 'kōan-based' Zen of Hakuin Zenji, which is wholly absent in Korean Zen. Of course, there have been and still are Rōshis in the Japanese tradition inclined towards a more flexible view of things (e.g. Yasutani and Harada Rōshis, Maezumi Rōshi, Kapleau Rōshi, etc.) but there is always something behind a caricature.

Having said that, it is worth noting that the *hwaḍu* technique is not unique to the Korean tradition, as we are led to believe by the 'cover-blurb' attached to Kusan's teachings. This practice is found in the Japanese tradition (Jap. *wato*) - and of course, it has played a vital part in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, where it originated. Indeed, I have been struck by the significant parallels between the teachings of Kusan and those of the late Hsuyūn (1840-1959), the last great Ch'an master on the mainland of China in the era leading up to the 'cultural revolution', who utilised the *hua-t'ou* method with consummate skill himself. This little indiscretion seems to be attributable to the publisher rather than to Kusan, Martine Fages or Stephen Batchelor, for as we are informed in the introduction to Kusan's teachings, the *hwaḍu* method was introduced into Korean Zen by the brilliant Master Chinul (1158-1210) of the Koryo dynasty, the *hwaḍu* (Chin. *hua-t'ou*) technique being a legacy of Sung China and the teaching of Ta-hui (1088-1163). Interestingly enough, while in the Lin-chi (Rinzai) transmission line which we have come to identify with the elaborate *kōan* system currently used in Japan, Ta-hui is said to have forbidden his disciples to read the *kung-an* (*kōan*) collection and commentary set down by his own master (the Pi-yen lu [Jap. *Hekiganroku*] or 'Blue Cliff Record' by Yuan-wu) and as is well known, it was this collection - along with the *Wu-mēn kuan* (Jap. *Mumonkan*) by Wu-mēn Hui-k'ai - which became standard models in the Japanese system of *kōan*-training.

In contrast, the Korean tradition seems to have adhered to the more direct methods favoured by Ta-hui, who did not have a Rinzai cap glued to his head. Paradoxically to say, though in the Lin-chi transmission line and well known for his frequently

harsh criticism of the 'quietistic' tendencies of some Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō) masters in his day, Ta-hui eventually took over the duties of Hung-chih - a Master in the Ts'ao-tung transmission line. But why this digression, which seems to have taken us far from the teachings of Kusan Sunim? Well, the point is - it is worth reminding ourselves that the apparently 'atomic' nature of Zen teaching found in the more well-known transmission lines today does not stand up to scrutiny when viewed in the historical totality of the Zen tradition. The great merit of introducing Korean teachings to the West is that they underscore this point, encouraging us to place in parentheses a number of assumptions which we are inclined to make about Zen as a matter of course. Needless to say, we should feel gratitude for all those Zen teachers who have endeavoured to help us in the West - be they Chinese, Japanese, Korean or Vietnamese in origin. It is fitting, however, to appreciate these Korean teachings given by Kusan, for even when discoursing on the 'Ten Oxherding Pictures' - in danger of becoming a hackneyed theme these days - a fresh and vivid spirit pervades the atmosphere, a quality which is evident throughout Master Kusan's Dharma-talks. As to be expected from Korea's geographical position, occupying terrain lying midway between China and Japan, Korean Buddhism has interesting dimensions of its own. Moreover, the comparative isolation of Korea (not forgetting the Japanese occupation or Korean War) has in many ways helped to preserve some unique facets of Far Eastern Buddhism which we could do well to take stock of.

Upāsaka Wen Shu (Richard Hunn)

The Yogasūtras of Patañjali on Concentration of Mind. Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti. Translated from the revised Spanish original by K.D. Prithpaul. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987. xxv, 200 pp. Rs.110 (cloth), Rs.75 (paper).

A translation of a translation is not the best way of presenting a new interpretation of a classical Yoga text to the general public. However, because relatively few people in the English-speaking areas around the globe know Spanish, a new approach to translating an old Sanskrit text into a modern Western language could justify such an undertaking. As the authors of this new

translation of the first of the four sections of the Yogasūtras provide quite lengthy commentaries on the individual sūtras and also extensive explanations of specific terms used in them, it would seem that this publication may have its usefulness for students of Patañjali's little masterwork.

Patañjali's work, however, is interesting also for students of Buddhism or even for Buddhists who might wish to gain some knowledge of concurrent systems of thought and practice, because we can detect in it close links with early Buddhism. As is well known, Patañjali's Yoga Way is eightfold as is the Buddha's Noble Path, but there are many other methodical, terminological and, if we may be permitted the expression, ideological coincidences and overlaps between the two systems. Patañjali's date is usually placed at least two hundred years after the time of the Buddha, so the answer to the question of who influenced whom would seem obvious. But it is also possible to assume that both Buddhism (as well as Jainism) and Patañjali's text have emerged from a common background of forest yoga schools and circles of wandering mendicants which existed outside the mainstream of the Vedic-Brahminic tradition from very early times.

Beside the eightfold division of the path, some of the other common elements of the two systems are: the meditational development (*bhāvanā*) of what Buddhism terms *brahma vihāras*, known to Buddhists as loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity, which become the bases for attainment of meditative states of absorption, i.e. *jhānas* (Sanskrit: *dhyānas*); a system, although differently structured, of subtle stages of *samādhi*; a strong emphasis on moral precepts as a preliminary condition for true spiritual progress; a reliance on own effort, though a concession to believers in *Īśvara*, the Lord, is made in that it is admitted that devotion to him may help on the way - which, however, is not dissimilar to the Buddha's attitude to the devotion of Brahma on the part of those brahmins who truly wish to find the way to him; and there are many other instances. A detailed comparative study of the text of the Yogasūtras and the relevant parts of the Pāli Canon would be very revealing.

The book starts with a short introduction followed by a synopsis of the first part of Patañjali's Yogasūtras (I, 1-51) in

a telegraphic style. The rest consists of the original text of those fifty-one sūtras given both in Devanāgarī script and in transliteration, of an interpretative translation of each sūtra and of extensive comments on the meaning of important expressions and concepts used in the sūtras.

The reason for dedicating a whole book to only the first part of Patañjali's text is that the authors regard that part as the most important one. This is debatable, and so is their belief that it constitutes a work complete in itself.

There are good academic reasons for regarding the Yogasūtras as assembled from several different components which originated in different centuries and diverse backgrounds and which were put together at a later stage by a redactor. Thus J.W. Hauer, for example, saw the main text as the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* section which deals with the yoga path (YS II, 28-III, 55) and was written by Patañjali himself (whoever he may have been, but Hauer thinks he was identical with the famous grammarian of the same name dated in the second century B.C.). He also rearranged the traditional division of the Yogasūtras into four parts, because he regarded it as formalistic and dictated by later compilers' concern for dividing the text into parts of equal length. The first part, which the authors value so much, is composed, according to Hauer, of two distinct sections: the second of the two (YS I, 23-51) which deals with *Īśvarapranidhāna* or 'devotion to the Lord' is somewhat alien to the spirit of the main body of the text (concerned with the yoga path) and came from Brahminic circles. And it is indeed possible to look at it as a contribution from, or perhaps a concession to, the theistic trends in the yoga movement foreshadowed in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. The first half of this part (YS I, 1-22) forms in fact a section which is complete in itself and deals with 'cessation' (*nirōdha*). It was written, according to Hauer, by the redactor of the sūtras as late as the fourth century A.C. to provide an introduction to the main body of the Yogasūtras.

Even if we do not go along with Hauer's assessment of the first part of the Yogasūtras, the authors' view of it as the most important part of the text which goes under the name of Patañjali is hard to justify, because we have come to think of it as a

classical compendium of yoga practice which is described, of course, in the middle parts of the text. The explanation can be gauged from the tenor of the authors' commentary, which is very much dependent on classical Sāṅkhya materials and therefore has a strong metaphysical slant. The first part of the Yogasūtras comprises many definitions of terms used in the subsequent parts of the text and this provides the authors with ample opportunity for philosophical interpretations, an activity for which they have a strong inclination.

Interpreting the Yogasūtras on the basis of the classical Sāṅkhya system of philosophy was started by some scholars in the last century and is continued by many writers up to the present day, but it has never really been substantiated. Although there are terminological overlaps, it has again to be mentioned here that the overlaps with early Buddhism are stronger and more numerous than with the classical Sāṅkhya. The formulation of the classical Sāṅkhya system of philosophy was finalised later than the Yogasūtras, at a time when speculative system building was much in vogue. What we find in the Yogasūtras is just a basic philosophical outlook, a view of existence which forms a preliminary picture for the mind and can thus become a motivation for the practice of yoga in order to discover truth. In this sense they again resemble the early Buddhist texts more than Sāṅkhya. Projecting the elaborate Sāṅkhya metaphysics into them only detracts from their eminently practical purpose.

Although it is thus necessary to use the authors' commentaries with great caution, the English translation of their book is nevertheless to be welcomed. Their references to previous scholars' works when trying to interpret a term are numerous and very helpful, and some of their unusual suggestions of the meaning of some of the terms are thought-provoking, even if we do not always feel able to agree with them.

The book further has a fairly extensive bibliography* and an index of Sanskrit terms. A final word about the title of the book and the write-up on the back of its cover: it will hardly be obvious from the title to, say, a prospective mail-order buyer, who has not got the chance of browsing through the book, that

the work only deals with the first part of the Yogasūtras of Patañjali. The write-up never even mentions this fact and simply speaks about the Yogasūtras of Patañjali. If the catalogue is going to contain the same blurb, the would-be purchasers will be misled into thinking that the book includes the text, translation and interpretation of the whole of Patañjali's text. So there may be a few disappointed buyers on that account.

Karel Werner

Ed. The latest relevant studies include T.K.V. Desikachar (tr. and comm.) *Patañjali's Yogasūtras* (Madras 1987), M.M. Dvivedi (ed. and tr.) *The Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali* (repr. Delhi 1983), Konrad Meisig *Yogasūtra-Konkordanz* (Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie 22, Wiesbaden 1988), and I.K. Taimni (tr.) *The Science of Yoga* (Adyar c.1970).

The Caves at Aurangabad: Early Buddhist Tantric Art in India. Carmel Berkson. Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd., Ahmedabad 1987. Distributed by University of Washington Press, Seattle. xvi, 238 pp. \$32.50.

This is the kind of book that give scholars nightmares. It purports to be authoritative, whereas in fact it is arbitrary and misleading. The reader is alerted to this danger by seeing her acknowledging her debt to D.C. Bhattacharyya, author of *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*: 'His identifications will give authenticity and authority to the volume. I am grateful that he has permitted use of these new interpretations here unaccompanied by textual supporting evidence which would not have been appropriate in the context of a book planned for a general readership. Scholars will find ample references in his numerous other published and unpublished works' (p.xiv). On page 43 an unnumbered footnote informs us that 'Dr Bhattacharyya's identifications are printed in italic type'. On this page alone in italics are four *chaitya*, two *stupa* and a *mantra*.

Given the lack of identifying evidence for the general reader (her bibliography gives reference only to one of Bhattacharyya's books, that mentioned above) the scholar and the general reader are at somewhat of a loss to know what this book does represent. The problem is that Berkson is a photographer and not a Buddhist scholar. Her black and white photographs, beautifully composed

in themselves, are not explained by her non-Buddhist interpretation of Buddhist practices and art. Can Bhattacharyya be credited with an interpretation simplified to the point of absurdity?

Berkson seems to be very confused about Buddhist *tantras*, which she claims the sculptures in these caves depict. At one point *dhāraṇī* is defined as 'a single seed syllable'. The figures in a *maṇḍala* are called 'deities'. These are identified without any explanation as to why they should be identified in this way. While she mentions some *tantric* texts, how or why they should have been committed to sculpture is never explained. The Pancha Tattva 'ritual', for instance, she admits was not necessarily an Aurangabad ritual: 'But it is nice to think...' (p.33).

Nothing is said in this book about Indian or Buddhist architectural canons, which would go a lot further in explaining the construction of the caves if not their function. Merely identifying figures in a cave does not explain their function. She further confuses the issue by superimposing eight geometric grids over a photograph of what she refers to as a dancing Tārā and its reverse image. What Buddhist meaning this might have or why she has done this she never explains.

In short, aside from Berkson's saying these caves are *tantric* (whatever that means) and providing Bhattacharyya's identifications of certain figures (whatever that means), there is no real proof for the scholar or general reader that her thesis is at all valid. Her book only compounds the Buddhist scholar's task of providing a clear understanding of what Buddhism is.

Mary Stewart

Corrigenda to Vol.V, 2

p.179, line 10, read 'bind' for 'blind'.

p.181, line 11, read 'Anattā is not the denial...'.
 with that but also the general of standing, to be seen, this

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